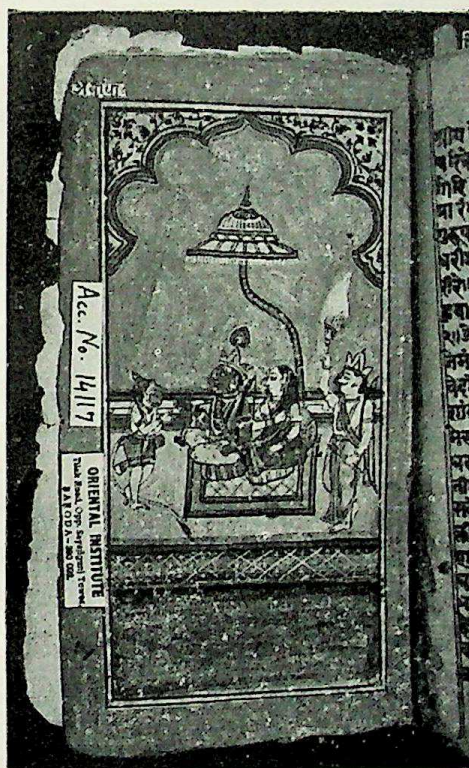


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KUBERA AS A GOD OF FERTILITY

By

C. SATAPATHY *

Kubera is wellknown as the god of wealth, guardian deity of the northern direction and king of the Yakṣas in our mythology. Besides these oft-mentioned characteristics, an important aspect of Kubera, that has not yet received much attention is his fertility association. Here an attempt is made to highlight Kubera as a god of fertility.

We begin our discussion with Kubera's association with food and plants. In Vedic texts Kubera is known as *Vaiśravaṇa*, *Dhanapati* and *Mahārāja*. He appears for the first time in the *Atharvaveda* in a hymn to *Virāj* (8.10). It is said that *Virāj* 'the shining one' makes striding in different regions in the form of a cow and Kubera, who becomes a calf, is said to be instrumental in milking the cow that provides subsistence to the other folks (*itarajanās*). Further in the *Taittirīya Aranyaka* 1.31., in connection with *Vaiśravaṇa yajña* we are told that Kubera possessed the splendid wealth together with food. The sacrificers invoked him to bestow food and it is said that a person who does not know the *Vaiśravaṇa* sacrifice does not get food and his wishes are not fulfilled.

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* Dept. of Sanskrit, Nayagarh College, Nayagarh, Orissa.

On the contrary one who knows the sacrifice and performs it, gets food and his wishes are fulfilled. Hence Kubera is significantly called *Kāmeśvara* 'the lord of wishes'. During the Āraṇyaka period, he appears to be an important deity and in order to get rid of hunger, people prayed for him, who possessed food. In the *Matsyapurāṇa* 180.2. Kubera is also said to be the giver of food. The *Agni-purāṇa* 121.51f. points out that after the reaping, the paddy is to be stored in the storehouse. Then a *mantra* invoking Dhanada-Kubera and goddess Ilā (earth) is to be written on a leaf which is placed inside the stalk of corn. This is supposed to increase the corn. Thus, the relation of Kubera with food and corn as well as his relation with the mother earth, who is the primary source of fertility, appears to suggest his association with fertility.

As regards Kubera's association with plants, it is pointed out that Nyagrodha or Vaṭa 'Indian Fig Tree' is the most favourite of Kubera-Vaiśravaṇa.¹ This tree is generally said to be the abode of the Yakṣas.² Nyagrodha is a wellknown representative of fertility and vegetative life. It is also associated with gods having similar fertility association. It is called Varuṇa's tree in *Gobhila Gṛhya-sūtra* 4.7.24. Varuṇa is a god of fertility and is adored as a giver of children. The old Śunastepa legend corroborates the view. In *Mahābhārata* 13,149. 101 Viṣṇu is identified with the Nyagrodha. J. Gonda in his *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism* has discussed at great length, Viṣṇu's association with fertility. Besides Nyagrodha, Kubera is also associated with *Bilva* plant. In *Bilvapratiṣṭhā* Kubera is one of the deities to be worshipped. The Bilva 'wood apple' is also called *Śrīphala*.³ It is said that he who desires food and wishes to grow fat ought to make his *yūpa* of Bilva wood, for the Bilva is the symbol of fertility.⁴ So Kubera's association with *Nyagrodha* and *Bilva* plants seems to strengthen his fertility association.

Kubera's title *Kāmeśvara* has to do with his role as a marriage-divinity. Dhanapati Kubera is invoked in a hymn⁵ that is recited in a ceremony for obtaining a husband of one's own choice. In this ceremony the girl should offer rice to Dhanapati and implore him to make the suitor willing to marry her. Further in *Indrāṇī-karma*⁶ which is part of the marriage rite, Vaiśravaṇa is invoked alongwith Īśāna (Śiva) for the sake of the bridegroom. Moreover in a pre-wedding rite known as *Haviṣyapūnyāha*⁷ Kubera receives offering and in the marriage ceremony on the preceding day the bridegroom is enjoined to make offerings unto a pot, Vaiśravaṇa and Īśāna. One of the most important symbols that the pot represents is that of the womb; and with this concept, it is used in fertility rites.⁸ A filled pot (*pūrṇakumbha*) is a symbol of prosperity and happiness and it is usual to see married women with husbands alive carrying pots filled with water on their heads in a marriage procession or some other auspicious procession.⁹ The idea of offering unto a pot was for the gain of

progeny and prosperity. The association of pot with Vaiśravaṇa in such a ceremony probably suggests that Kubera Vaiśravaṇa was worshipped for progeny and prosperity. Now marriage is a fertility rite in the wholly terrestrial sphere and hence Kubera appears to be a god of fertility.

Mention also be made here of an association of Kubera with honey 'madhu' that plays an important role in our mythology and ritual. Honey is regarded as sacred and it forms an important part in all Hindu rituals. It is fed to the newly born child. It is supposed to drive away evil spirits. It is an important item in marriage ceremony (*madhuparka*) and it is said that honey secures harmony in married life. Apart from this, honey is regarded as a means of promoting fertility.¹⁰ The Aśvins are conspicuously connected with honey. They give honey to the bees. In the *R̥gveda* 1.154. 4-5 Viṣṇu's three steps are said to be full of honey and in his highest step, there is a stream of honey. Kubera's relation with *madhu* has been related in the *Mahābhārata* 5.62. 23-25. We are informed that *madhu* was the favourite drink of Kubera. It was of a yellow colour. Kubera's jar of honey was placed in an inaccessible precipice of the mountain. It was guarded by the poisonous serpents. As to its efficacy, it is said that a mortal gains immortality, a blindman regains eyesight and an oldman is rejuvenated due to its use.

tatra paśyāmahe sarve madhupītamamākṣikam |
maruprapāte viṣame niviṣtam kumbhasammitam |
āśīviṣaiḥ rakṣamāṇam kuberadayitam bhr̥ṣam |
yat prāśya puruṣo martyo amaratvam nigacchati |
acakṣurlabhate cakṣurvṛddho bhavati vai yuvā ||

It is to be noted that this honey of Kubera was not collected by bees. Incidentally we may cite the passage of *Kūrma-purāṇa* 1.27. 33ff that refers a *madhu* not collected by bees (*amākṣikam madhu*), but produced in each cavity of the trees, filled with sweet fragrance, colour and taste. It is said that in the beginning of the *Tretāyuga*, the people lived on this honey and were hale and hearty.

It would not be out of place to note that the association of serpents with Kubera's honey is without significance. The snake symbolises immortality because it casts its slough and renews itself. It becomes the symbol of the ability to be born again and again. The snake is an object of veneration and dread; it is a beneficial spirit, a guardian of the house. The snakes are invoked for rain and prosperity in West Asia and other countries. The snakes are connected with fertility. It is said that the first woman (Eve) was seduced by a snake. In Africa a sterile woman obtains a child after worshipping a snake.¹² In Greek mythology, Zeus as a snake violated Persephone. In Roman mythology snakes are connected with fertility rites and they decided the chastity of a girl.¹³ In Indian

mythology snakes are connected with almost all gods of importance. They are an inseparable part of Śiva and Viṣṇu is represented as resting upon a snake. The snakes symbolise prosperity, fertility and rejuvenation. Thus the association of honey and snakes confirms Kubera's character as a god of fertility and prosperity.

A considerable importance may be attached to the fact that Kubera is believed to dwell in the mountains. In the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* 1.36. the cities of Kubera Vaiśravaṇa are said to be situated on the mountains *Krauñca*, *Maināka* and *Sudarśana*. The *Dīgha Nikāya* fixes his abode on mount Meru as well as Sudarśana. According to the epics and the purāṇas. Kubera is said to have resorts on the Kailāsa mountain,¹⁴ the Gandhamādana¹⁵ and Mandara.¹⁶ Sometimes his abode is stated to be on the Piśācaka mountain.¹⁷ The mountains are considered to be the source of mineral wealth and also considered an important source of rain and water in general. The waters are founded on the mountain, so says the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.¹⁸ It is further said that serpents, elephants, mountains and the clouds have been closely associated together and also with water, all being said to be produced from it.¹⁹ The earth is fertilised by the mountains²⁰ and they are the abode of plants. In the *Rgveda* 7.38.8 the mountains are invoked as divine powers and they are prayed for wealth and for getting progeny. So Kubera's association with the mountains may have some implication as regards his fertility-association.

Kubera's chief weapon is said to be *gadā*²¹ 'club.' Gonda is of the opinion that the club can be a representative of the penis erectus and adds further that sticks and clubs with a phallic significance are far from unusual in fertility rites and similar ceremonies.²² A passage of the *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa*²³ describes the banner of Kubera to be red. It is significant to mention that red is the symbol of fertility and an erotic sign. Draupadi wore red garments in her period of menstruation and red is also brought in connection with phallus.²⁴ Further red is the symbol of *rajoḡṇa*, so the images of *rājasī* type are painted red.²⁵ It signifies creativity and action. Thus Kubera's association with 'club' and red banner suggests his fertility aspect.

Kubera is the lord and giver of wealth and his wealth mainly comprised of gold.²⁶ As physical substance gold is quite incorruptible; it is highly resistant to chemical reactions and is immune to the corrosion that affects baser metals. It is also intrinsically luminous, seeming to shine with a light of its own. Thus gold is universally acknowledged as the symbol of life, perfection and immortality. As medicine gold is powdered and is said to enhance appetite and semen.²⁷ Again Kubera is the lord of the *Nidhis*. The *nidhis* are *śaṅkha padma*, *makara*, *kacchapa* etc. which are related to water. Coomaraswamy has popularised the concept of water cosmology in his *Yakṣas* (pt. II. pp. 13-71). He has cited

numerous instances from ancient literature to substantiate his thesis. Water is the primary source and substratum of the creation from which everything arises—this is the central thesis of water cosmology. Water is the greatest fertilising agent and the *nidhis* of Kubera being related to it, go a long way to support his association with fertility.

Kubera is the lord of the Yakṣas, Rakṣasas, Piśācas, Gandharvas and Apsarasas. The Yakṣas are primarily vegetation spirits, guardians of the vegetative source of life and thus closely connected with waters. The Gandharvas and the Apsarasas are euphemistically referred to as the progenitors of mankind. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 9.4. 1-2, it is stated that all creation issued out of *Prajāpati* in the form of couples of Gandharvas and Apsarasas. It is also said that they govern the fertility of the people. The *Kāṭhaka Gṛhya-sūtra* (19.3 and 20.2) mentions an important rite connected with Gandharva. When a girl firstly sees herself in menses, at a Gandharva place, sacrifice is to be offered. Then approaching a river the girl has to take bath and make oblations to various divinities, one of which is Gandharvānī. According to the commentator, Gandharva place is that where water flows out without any obvious reason. This description of the Gandharva place suggests their close connection with water and in the rite concerning a girl's first menstruation, Gandharva's connection with fertility may be taken for granted. Further in the marriage ceremony the bridegroom, while clasping the hand of the bride is enjoined to utter *Somaḥ prathamō vivide gandharvo vivida uttarah | Tṛtiyo agniste patiḥ turīyaṁ manuṣyajah ||*²⁸ Thus the Gandharvas are divine beings connected with water and fertility. The name Apsaras²⁹ suggests her connection with water. The Apsarasas are considered as deities of fecundation. Hence Kubera's connection with the Gandharvas and the Apsarasas may rank him as a god of fertility. J. J. Meyer in his *Trilogie* put forth the thesis that those gods who are lords of spirits are gods of fertility.³⁰ If his thesis is accepted Kubera being the lords of Yakṣas, Rakṣasas and Piśācas may be recognised as a god of fertility.

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1. It is said that Lord Viṣṇu is worshipped as Vaiśravaṇa in every fig tree: *Vaṭe vaṭe vaiśravaṇam | Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa* 3.125.22.
2. *Nyagrodhe rohiṇo nāmnā śerate tatra guhyakāḥ | tasminnivāso yakṣāṇām nyagrodhe rohiṇe smṛtaḥ || Brahmāṇḍa purāṇa* 2.3.7.118.
3. *Matsya purāṇa* 260.43.
4. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 6.1.
5. *Atharvaveda* 2.36.6.
6. *Indrāṇi karma* consists of feasting four or eight women, having husbands living, with the gifts of food, vegetables, wines etc. The implication

of the *karma* is that the bride should not be *vidhavā* or widow. See *Śāṅkhāyana Grhya-sūtra* 1-11. Also cf. S. A. Dange, "Indrāṇi karma," *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth* vol. xxix, pts 1-4, 1973, pp. 221-28. Also cf. K. K. Handiqui, *Yāastilaka and Indian Culture*, Sholapur: Jaina Samskriti Samrakshaka Sangha, 1949, p. 127. Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras*. Reprint, Delhi, 1983, pp. 222f. A. B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads*, Vol. II Reprint Delhi, 1976, p. 37+.

7. *Etā eva devatā puṁsaḥ kuṁbhāṁ vaiśravaṇamīśānaṁ ca yajeta* || *Kāṭhaka Grhyasūtra* 21.2. Also cf. *Hiranyakeśi Grhyasūtra* 2.8.6. *Bhāradvāja Grhyasūtra* 2.8 etc.
8. Dange, S. A. *Encyclopaedia of Puranic Beliefs and Practices*, Vol. III. New Delhi, Navrang, 1989 p. 937 ff.
9. Dange, S. A. *Glipses of Puranic Myth and Culture* p. 50.
10. See J. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*, 2nd Edn. Delhi, 1969, p. 16; S. K. Lal, *Female Divinities in Hindu Mythology and Ritual*, Pune, 1980, p. 236.
11. *Rgveda* 1-112.21.
12. Hastings, J. (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. xi. Newyork, pp. 400f.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 404.
14. *Rāmāyaṇa* 3.30; 6.7.3. *Mahābhārata* 3.174.2; 5.109.8 *Matsyapurāṇa* 221 1ff; *Liṅga purāṇa* 1.51.20, *Kūrmapurāṇa* 1.46 4 etc.
15. *Mahābhārata* 3.258.32f.
16. *Ibid* 3.140.4; 3.160.6. etc.
17. *Vāyu purāṇa* 1.39.57.
18. *Giri budhnā u vā āpaḥ* | *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 7.5.2 18.
19. *Gajānām parvatānām ca meghānām bhogibhiḥ saha* | *Kuṣamekaṁ prthag-bhūtaṁ yonirekā jalām smṛtam* || *Brahmaṇḍa-purāṇa* 1.2.22 48.
20. *Evameṣā mahārāja parvatāḥ prthivī citā* | *Mahābhārata* 6.7.38.
21. See *Rāmāyaṇa* 7.15.12; *Mahābhārata* 6.46.7; *Skanda-purāṇa* 1.2.17.28; *Agni-purāṇa* 52.15 etc.
22. Gonda J., *op.cit.*, p. 99.
23. *Dhvaje cāpi kuberasya daṇḍo maṇimayaḥ smṛtaḥ* | *Patākā cāpi rakṭā syānnarapādasamīpagā* || *Bhaviṣya-purāṇa* 1.138.50.
24. See J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie*, III Leipzig 1937, p. 220.

25. Cf. U. N. Dhal, "The colour concept of a Deity", *Vishvesvarananda Indological Journal* Vol. xxi, pts. J-II, 1983 pp. 228-32.
26. *Mahābharata* 6.7. 3-21.
27. *Hiranyam jāṭharāgnestu vṛddhidam vīryadam tathā |*
Śivapurāṇa Vighneśvarasamhitā 15.48.
28. *Kāṭhaka Gṛhyasūtra* 25.22.
29. Yāska's *Nirukta* 5.13 derives the word from *ap* + $\sqrt{sr}$ meaning 'proceeding from water. Also cf.

apsu nirmathanād eva rasāt tasmād varastriyaḥ |
utpetur manuṣaśreṣṭha tasmād apsaraso'bhavan ||
Rāmāyaṇa 1-44.18

30. Meyer, J. J. *op. cit.* p. 214.

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GRHYA RITES IN THE ŚATAPATHA BRĀHMAṆA

By

SMT. SANTI BENERJEE *

Every religion has a theoretical and a practical side. In its theoretical aspect religion embodies the body of beliefs among the people of a particular society about the supernatural or divine world. In its practical aspect, however, religion has two modes of expression—ritual and prayer, the practice of which makes religious worship almost a routine or habit.

Vedic religion also had its practical side—the Vedic ritual which at a time attained such an extension that religion became synonymous with it. Generally Vedic rites fall into two categories—the Śrauta and the Gṛhya. The Śrauta rites embody the vast extent of the grand priestly ceremonies celebrated in honour of the gods, offering them a nourishing gift with a motive followed by a voluntary reward on the part of the gladdened deities. These celebrations generally accompany prayers which are *mantras* taken from the three principal Saṃhitās. On the other hand, the Gṛhya-rites, as the name suggests (*grhya* < *grha*) consist of house-hold ceremonies *i.e.* the ceremonies relating to the various events of domestic life. Unlike the Śrauta-rites which require for their performance three or more sacred fires and the services of a number of priests—as many as sixteen, the Gṛhya ceremonies are performed with the single Gṛhya fire by the house-holder himself, and some-times by his wife, son or a Brahmin priest as his representative. According to the *Gobhila Gṛhya sūtra*, the Brahṃā is the only priest (out of the four principal *ṛtviks*) in sacrifices that are termed as *Pākayajñās* (*i.e.* the Gṛhya-rites) and the Yajamāna is himself the Hotṛ-priest—

“ *Brahmaivaika ṛtvik |*
Pākayajñeṣu svyam hotā bhavati || ”¹

Both these types of rituals have sūtra-works as their stock-books, the Śrauta-sūtras and the Gṛhya sūtras. The Śrauta-sūtras again trace their origin in the Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇas as we know, are the store-houses of Śrauta-ceremonies but very rarely they deal with the Gṛhya-rites. The Gṛhya-sūtras describing the Gṛhya rites have, therefore, no immediate precursors in the form

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* Department of Sanskrit, Jogamaya Devi College, Calcutta.

1. *Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra*, I. 1, 8-9.

of Brāhmaṇas as the Śrauta-sūtras have. However, the *mantras* recited in household ceremonies are generally taken from Samhitās of respective schools.

Some scholars like to establish the existence of Gṛhya-Brāhmaṇas, i.e. a kind of sacrificial manuals for domestic rites just as we have the extant Brāhmaṇa-works as the manuals of the Śruti-based public performances. It is interesting to quote here a statement from the *Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra*—“*Brāhmaṇoktā vidhayasteṣāṃ utsannāḥ pāṭhāḥ prayogādānumīyante*”²—where Āpastamba clearly says that “religious rites were declared in the Brāhmaṇas, the text of these rites have been lost, (but those texts) can be inferred from the actual performance (of the rites that are in vogue)”. From this statement it seems quite plausible that an earlier writer like Āpastamba was aware of Brāhmaṇa works describing Gṛhya rites but even in his days such Brāhmaṇa texts had been lost.

In the absence of any complete Brāhmaṇa-text on Gṛhya-rites we must look to the Śrauta Brāhmaṇa literature which, though concerned mainly with Śrauta-rites, in a few cases, has referred to some Gṛhya rites also. I however, confine my discussion round the Ś.Br. belonging to the White Yajurveda, the Brāhmaṇa which is undoubtedly the largest and the most important in the field of extant Brāhmaṇa literature. This Brāhmaṇa not only mentions the word *Pākayajñas*³ (I. 4. 2, 10) in the same technical sense in which the Gṛhya-sūtras use it to designate the Gṛhya sacrifices, but actually has included some of them in its sacrificial paraphernalia. For example, we may mention the *Upanayana* and *Brahmacarya* (i.e. studentship) which the Ś. Br. describes just with the same importance as the Gṛhya-sūtras have for them. The *Upanayana*, as we know, is one of the foremost *Samiskāras* in the later Gṛhya-sūtras and the Smṛti-works. The word *Samiskāra* (from √ *Kṛ* with *Sam*) may mean some purificatory act. The Ś. Br. however, does not mention this word, but the word *Samiskṛta* in the sense of ‘sacrificially purified’ occurs often enough. The *Upanayana* is a *Samiskāra* because it serves a spiritual and cultural purification.

Now, the Ś. Br., however, does not give the whole procedure of *Upanayana* so elaborately as we find in the later Gṛhya-sūtras. Still, it clearly indicates that some of the characteristics of *Upanayana* described in the Gṛhya-sūtras were well-known even then. The Brāhmaṇa takes the word *Upanayana* in the sense of ‘coming near,’ possibly the ‘*ācārya*’ for studentship. The Gṛhya-sūtras, too, bring out the same significance of the term when they say “The teacher then makes the boy utter, ‘I have come into *brahmacarya*. Lead me near, Let me be a student, impelled by god Savitṛ’.” (*athainamabhivyāhārayati | brahmacaryamā-*

2. *Āpastamba Dharma sūtra*, I., 12, 10.

3. Cf. *etenavai sarvān yajñān prāṇayanti ye*

Ca pākayajñā ye cetare...../ Ś. Br. I. 4, 2, 10.

gāmupa mā nayasva brahmacārī bhavānti devena savitrā prasūtaḥ ||).⁴ It seems that at first the word *upanayana* had the simple meaning of taking the boy near the *ācārya* for Vedic learning, but later it acquired the meaning of the rite by which the boy is taken to the *ācārya*. The Ś. Br. evidently illustrates the first meaning i.e. the simple form of *Upanayana*. Here the teacher, when the boy approaches him takes right and commits him to the most powerful deities like Indra, Agni, Prajāpati, Savitr and to the Waters, the Planets, to Heaven and Earth and last of all, to all beings; thereby the teacher makes his disciple free from harm of any kind. He further speaks to him—"Thou art a *Brahmacārī*" and thus commits him to Brahman. A *Brahmacārī* has to sip water which is nothing but ambrosia. He is asked to do his work and work doubtless means vigour. He is told to put on fuel which symbolises the enkindling of the mind with holy lustre. He has to avoid sleep because sleep is equal to death. These observances that last throughout the period of studenthood are first seen in the passage of the Ś. Br.⁵ and the same are laid down later in different Gṛhya-sūtras.

After the formalities are done the student becomes fit for receiving the *Sāvitrī mantra*. The Ś. Br. mentions several alternatives of one year, or six months, or twentyfour days, or twelve days, or six days or three days, regarding the question as to when exactly the *Sāvitrī mantra* is to be taught to the pupil. In the case of the Brāhmaṇa students, however, it prescribes to teach *Sāvitrī* at once, for according to the Ś. Br. the Brāhmaṇa belongs to Agni and Agni is born at once. Regarding the mode of teaching *Gāyatrī* the view of the Brāhmaṇa seems to corroborate with all the characteristics prescribed in the later Gṛhya-sūtras. According to most of the sūtras the teacher sits to the north of the fire facing the east and in front of him the student sits facing the west and then the student requests the teacher to recite to him the verse sacred to Savitr and the teacher imparts to him first one *pāda* at a time, then two *pādas* and then the whole. The Ś. Br. gives us the same details. Regarding the *Sāvitrī* verse the Ś. Br. prescribes the famous verse in *Gāyatrī* metre⁶ which is taught to the initiated *Brahmacārī* still to-day. It also refers to and at the same time refutes an alternative view which states that an *anuṣṭubh Sāvitrī* may be taken as the sacred *Sāvitrī* verse⁷ just as some Gṛhya-sūtras in later times say that for *Brāhmōṇa* the *Sāvitrī* verse is *Gāyatrī*, but for *Kṣatriyas* and *vaiśyas* a *Sāvitrī* in the *Triṣṭubh* (11 letters in a *pāda*) or *jagatī* (12 letter) should be the proper one.

The Ś. Br. does not prescribe the wearing of a cord of threads or *Yajñopavīta* at the time of *Upanayana*. But this does not mean that practice of wearing

4. Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhya Sūtra, I. 5, 2.

5. Ś. Br., XI. 5, 4, 1-5.

6. R. V., III, 62, 10.

7. Ś. Br., XI. 5, 4, 13.

Yajñopavīta was not known to it. Elsewhere the Brāhmaṇa has mentioned the terms *Yajñopavītin* and *prācīnāvītin* with reference to gods and pitṛs but men are described as covered with a garment only.⁸

Not only *Upanayana*, we come across in the Ś. Br. the five daily observances called *mahāyajñas*. These are the sacrifice to beings, the sacrifice to men, the sacrifice to the Fathers, the sacrifice to the gods, the sacrifice to brahman (Veda).

All the later Gṛhya-sūtras, and even the Dharma-sūtras and smṛti-works describe these five, but probably the earliest description is to be found in the Ś. Br., XI 5, 6, 3-8. These religious performances are called *Yajñas* only figuratively, for actually they are distinguished from the solemn Śrauta sacrifices. The main point of distinction is that in these five the house-holder *i.e.* the *Yajamāna* himself is the chief agent and he does not need the help of a professional priest while the Śrauta sacrifices are mainly conducted by the professional priests themselves and house-holder's role is more or less passive. Furthermore, in the five *mahāyajñas* the spirit is one of dedication, of showing reverence towards the creator, the ancient sages, the Manes and the whole universe with all the creatures, as well as the sacred scriptures, while the Śrauta *Yajñas* aim at gaining a definite result, say, Heaven or some material object such as prosperity, a son or glorious fame and the like.

These five Gṛhya-ceremonies have been briefly defined in the Brāhmaṇa as—
aharaharbhūtebhyo balim haret | tathaitam bhūtayajñam samāpnotyaraharadadyā-
dodapātrāt tathaitam manuṣyayajñam samapnotyaraharah svadhākuryādoda-pātrāt-
tathaitam pitṛyajñam samāpnotyaraharah svadhākuryādākāṣṭhāt tathaitam devayaj-
ñam samāpnoti | atha brahmayajñaḥ | svādhyāyo vai brahmayajñaḥ . . . |⁹
 Though the first four sacrifices are defined in a few words, the last, but not the least one, the *Brahmayajña* has been described with some details. The Ś. Br., after stating that *Brahmayajña* is one's own daily study of the Veda, imparts some symbolic significance to it by comparing several elements required in the ordinary sacrifice to certain elements of *Brahmayajña*. For instance, the *juhū*, *upabhṛt*, *dhruvā*, *sruva* (all these are different kinds of spoons required for offering ghee), *avabhṛtha* (the solemn bath at the end of a sacrifice) and heaven are said to be represented by the speech, the mind, the eye, mental power, truth and the conclusion—all the elements required in the study of the Veda. The

8 Ś. Br., II, 4, 2, 1.

9 Ś. Br., XI, 5, 6, 2-3.

Abbreviations—

Ś. Br. = Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa

R.V. = R̥gveda.

Rk, *Yajus*, *Sāman* and *Atharvāṅgīrasa* texts in the *Brahmayajña* are likened respectively to offerings to gods of milk, ghee, soma and fat. Other branches of knowledge can also be recited in *Brahmayajña*, the recital of which is like honey-offering to gods. It has been stated in the *Brāhmaṇa* that the gods being delighted and satisfied with there offerings, bestow on the performer affluence and security, life-breath and all auspicious blessings and streams of ghee and honey flow for his departed *pitrs*.

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APAVARGA IN NYĀYA AND BHEDĀBHEDA SOTERIOLOGY

By

RABINDRA KUMAR PANDA*

1

Apavarga is an important term in Indian philosophical literature in general and in both Nyāya system of Akṣapāda Gautama and Bhedābheda system of Bhartṛprapañca in particular. The importance of the term lies in the fact that it has been used by Indian philosophers in numerous senses in their respective soteriological discussions and hence *apavarga* has a number of philosophical ideas. The right knowledge of which is very essential for an analytical understanding of the philosophical systems. In this paper, I have made an attempt to make a comparative analysis of the concept of *apavarga* as expounded by the Naiyāyika Gautama and the *Bhedābheda* Bhartṛprapañca; and to illumine the difference existing between the two.

The term *apavarga* is derived from *apa + vrj + ghañ* (*apavṛjyate anena*). It denotes in general, completion of an action, special rule, final beatitude, donation, abandonment and discharge.¹ Pāṇini, the renowned grammarian in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* has used this term *apavarga* in the sense of accomplishment of an action². Literally *apavarga* means 'escape,' that is, escape from the cycle of birth and death.³ However, the Indian philosophical schools have employed this term in the sense of emancipation⁴ (*mokṣa*) though the concept of *mokṣa*

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* Deptt. of Skt. Pali, & Prakrit, M. S. Uni. Baroda, Baroda-390002.

1 Apte, V. S., *The Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1955, p. 102.

2 *Apavarge tṛtīyā*, Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, II. 3.6; *Tiryacyapavarge* III. 4.60.

3 Hiriyanma M., *Indian Conception of Values*, Kavyalaya Publishers, Mysore, 1975, p. 250.

4 *Dharmeṇa gamanamūrdhvaṃ*

gamanamadhaṣṭhād bhavatyadharmeṇa |

Jñānena cāpavargo viparyayādīṣyate bandhaḥ || Sāṅkhyakārikā. 44;

See also *Gauḍapādabhāṣya*, *Tena nīmittenāpavargo'mokṣaḥ |*.

Mainkar, T. G., *Sāṅkhyakārikā of Īśvarkṛṣṇa with the Commentary of Gauḍapāda*, Oriental Book Agency, Poona, Revised and Enlarged, Edition, 1972, pp. 155-156;

differs from one school to another. Thus, the history of Indian philosophical literature contains numerous soteriological ideas of *apavarga* which are propounded by the eminent thinkers through the ages. The cause of the diversity of connotations of the word *apavarga* is that the philosophical schools differ widely from one another in the view they take of the ultimate nature of the *Ātman* or Self and of its relation to the objective world. The two prominent schools mentioned above, keeping in view their doctrines of the Self and its relation to the objective world have expounded the concept of *apavarga* which we deal with in the following pages in detail. Since it is not possible to discuss all the ideas of *apavarga* available in our philosophical thought, the scope of the paper is limited to the above said two schools.

II

Gautama, the propounder of the Nyāya school, in his *Nyāyasūtra* defines *apavarga* as the absolute cessation of misery,⁵ that is, absolute deliverance of the Self from miseries.⁶ In other words, the state wherein the *Ātman* is completely devoid of misery, is called *apavarga*. Commenting on this *sūtra*, Vātsyāyana in his *Nyāyabhāṣya* maintains *apavarga* as *niśreyasa* (supreme felicity). The state, when there is a relinquishing of the birth that has been taken and the non-assumption of another birth is *apavarga*. This state is immortal, free from fear and imperishable. It consisting in the attainment of bliss is called *Brahman*. Vātsyāyana further explains that the five properties or *dharma*s, viz. misery (*duḥkha*), birth (*janma*), activity (*pravṛtti*), defect (*doṣa*) and wrong notions (*mithyājñāna*) operating continuously constitute transmigratory world (*saṁsāra*).⁷

Śaṅkara, *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, I. I. 4; II. 2.6;

Ātmanaśca svarūpeṇāvasthānam so'yamapavargah, Vaiśeṣika Darshana by Kaṇāda Muni with *Upaśkāra, Vivṛti* and *Bhāṣya*, Edited by M. G. Bakre, The Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay, 1913, p. 47.

5 *Tadatyantavimokṣo'pavargah. Nyāyasūtra* I. 1.22. *Nyāyadarśanam*, the *Nyāyasūtra* of Akṣapāda with Vātsyāyana's *Bhāṣya*, Udyotakara's *Nyāya Vārtika*, Vācaspati Miśra's *Tātparyāṅkā* and Viśvanātha's *Vṛtti*, Critically Edited by Taranatha Nyaya Tarkatirtha, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Second Edition, New Delhi, 1985.

6 *Tena-duḥkhena janmanā atyantam vimuktirapavargah | katham ? Upātasya janmano hānam, anyasya cānupādānam | etānavasthāmarpayantamapavargam vedayantēpavargavidah | tadabhayamajaramamṛtyupadam brahma kṣemaprāptiriti |* *Ibid.*, p. 224.

7 *Nyāyabhāṣya* on *Nyāyasūtra*, I. I. 22.

When the true knowledge of the sixteen categories (*padārthas*)⁸ is attained by the individual self, all *dharma*s get ceased in a successive reverse order.⁹

In the final stage of the process of annihilation, the misery disappears absolutely, and the *Ātman* obtains *apavarga*,¹⁰ the supreme goal of his mundane life. This condition, according to Jayanta Bhaṭṭa (900 A.D.), occurs only when the Soul is absolutely dissociated from all the nine kinds of qualities, viz. will, antipathy, pleasure, pain, knowledge, effort, virtue, vice and rooted instincts¹¹ (*icchā dveṣa, sukha, duḥkha, buddhi, prayatna, dharma, adharma* and *saṁskāra*). Unless such a dissociation actually occurs, *apavarga* cannot take place. This dissociation can only happen after death. So *apavarga* of the Individual Soul while the physical body remains intact is not possible.¹² In the state of *avaparga*, since the soul is dissociated from the physical body and all the sense organs, there is no possibility of knowledge; and with the extinction of knowledge, there takes place ultimate and absolute destruction of misery. On the concept of *apavarga* expounded in the Nyāya school, Prof. Hiriyanna aptly remarks:

“The ideal of life here is a state of complete cessation of suffering and not of the attainment of pleasure also. Its negative character is shown by its earliest description in the literature of the doctrine of *apavarga* or ‘escape.’ The self is restored to its normal state, which is one of absolute aloofness not only from the objective world but also from other selves, though both of which, as real and eternal, will necessarily endure then. It is thus a state of absolute blank. Since it is not only pain and pleasure that are adventitious to the self but also knowledge, desire, and so forth, the state of release is one in which the self has completely cast off its specific qualities. Accordingly, it not only transcends empirical life then,

8 *Pramāṇaprameyasamśayaprayojana-drṣṭāntasiddhāntāyavavatarkanirṇaya-vādajalpavitandāhetvābhāsacchala-jātini-grahasthānānām tattvajñānānīśśreyasādhi-gamaḥ* | *Nyāyasūtra*. I.1.10.

9 *Duḥkhajanmapravṛttidoṣamithyājñānānāmuttarottarāpāye tadanantarāpā-yādapavargah* | *Nyāyasūtra*, I.1.2.

10 *Mokṣopavargah* | *sa caikaviṁśati bhedabhinnaśya duḥkhasyātyantikī nivṛttiḥ*, Keśava, Miśra, *Tarkhabhāṣā*, Critically Edited by N. N. Kulkarni, Oriental Book Supplying Agency, Poona, 1929, p. 30

11 Jayanta, Bhaṭṭa, *Nyāyamañjarī*, Edited by Gaṅgādhara Sastri, Kasi, 1951, p. 508.

12 Dasgupta, S. N., *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II, Cambridge University Press, 1932, pp. 248-249.

but also ceases to be the subject of experience in all its forms. It may therefore be characterised as a form of neutral being.”¹³

According to the Nyāya school, the Individual Soul (*Ātman*) is a substance¹⁴ (*dravya*); it is of the nature of existence, free from ignorance and other phenomenal limitations. The *Ātman* like *Īśvara* or the Divine Self or God is ubiquitous¹⁵ in nature, and free from the limitations of all times. Still it being under the limitations of ignorance, suffers from unavoidable misery in the objective world. The realist Nyāya school believes that every individual soul which is of the nature of substance (*dravya*) is associated with an atomic substance technically known as *manas* (mind). As a result of this association there arises in the Individual Soul under ignorance psychic phenomena including the qualities of *jñāna*, *icchā*, *kṛti*, *dharma*, *adharma*, *sukha*, *duḥkha* etc. These psychic qualities inhere in the Individual Soul which is eternally existent. *Ajñāna* (ignorance) persists throughout the mundane life of the Soul and is destroyed by the appearance of knowledge.¹⁶ Untill the true knowledge arises the psychic life is bound to persist and the Soul has to pass through stages of transmigration from life to life. In the state of *apavarga*, the Individual Soul is free from all psychic qualities so that neither knowledge nor will-power may be said to pertain to it after *apavarga* has been effected. In mundane life, pleasure and pain together with *dharma* and *adharma* persist in the soul, but, they are totally absent from it after *apavarga* has been effected.¹⁷ The Individual Soul remains in a state of permanency without pleasure and pain even without consciousness in the state of *apavarga*.¹⁸ The *apavarga*, therefore, represents the consummation of the highest objective of *Ātman*.

13 Hiriyanā, M., Op. cit., p. 255.

14 *Prthvyaptejovāyākāśakāladigātma-manāmsi navaiva*, Annambhaṭṭa, *Tarkasaṅgraha*, Kasi Sanskrit Series, 187, Chaukhambā Sanskrit Sansthan, Varanasi, 1976, p. 4.

15 *Sa ca dehendriyādivyatiriktah pratiśarīram bhinnō vibhurnityaśca*. Keśava Miśra, *Tarkabhāṣā*, Op. cit., p. 18.

16 *Ātmajñānānmiśreyasādhigamaḥ*. Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, *Nyāyamañjarī*, V.S.S., 1985, p. 524; *Tattvajñānam iva mokṣopāyaḥ*. Ibid. p. 523; *Tattvajñānādapavargah mithyajñāt saṁsārah*. Vātsyāyana, *Nyāyabhāṣya*, Op. cit., I.1.9: I.1.2.18.

17 *Yāvadātmaguṇāḥ sarve nocchinnā vāsanādayaḥ |*
Tāvadātyantiki duḥkhavyāvṛttirnaiva kalpate. //
Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, *Nyāyamañjarī*, Op.cit., p. 508.

18 *Navānāmātmaguṇānām buddhisukhaduḥkhecchādvēṣaprayatnadharmā-dharmasamskārānām nirmūlocchedo'pavargah*, Jayanta Bhaṭṭa, Op.cit., p. 508;
Tadatyantavimokṣo'pavargah, Gautama, *Nyāyasūtra*, I. 1.22.

From this discussion on the concept of *apavarga*, we arrive at the following points:—

- It is the final goal of human beings (*niśreyasa*)
- It means complete cessation of misery (*ātyantikaduḥkhadhvaṁsa*)
- It is a state wherein the *Ātman* remains in its essential nature
- It is a negative state (*abhāvātmaka*)
- In the state of *apavarga*, the *Ātman* is devoid of nine qualities including consciousness (*jñāna*)
- In the state of *apavarga*, because of the cessation of consciousness (*jñāna* or *buddhi*), the *Ātman* does not experience pleasure.
- *Apavarga* is obtainable by means of the real knowledge of the sixteen categories.

III

Now, we turn to the concept of *apavarga* expounded in the *Bhedābheda* school of Bhartṛprapañca who is supposed to have flourished long before Śaṅkara. This school expounds that the individual self is identical with and, at the same time, different, from *Brahman* or the Absolute. This is the reason why the school is named as *bhedābheda* (difference cum identity).

Bhartṛprapañca occupies a very important place among the Vedāntins who flourished before Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, the great exponent of *Advaita Vedānta*. He is known to be the first expounder of the Vedānta school, namely, *Bhedābheda* or 'Identity-in-Difference' which was developed later on by Bhāskara. He might have reached the summit of his fame around the 8th century because Śaṅkara's disciple, Sureśvarācārya has spent about one-fifth of his voluminous classic, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad-bhāṣya-Vārtika* in review of his philosophy. No work of this Vedāntin survives to the present day, but from the references to him in the writings of Śaṅkarācārya and his successors, we come to know that he was the author of a number of works.¹⁹

According to Bhartṛprapañca, *mokṣa* (emancipation) is to be achieved in two stages. As every one is distinct from every one else while, according to this doctrine, all are one also at the same time,²⁰ this means that the Self has a double aspect—an individual as well as a cosmic aspect. The latter is usually lost sight of in everyday life; and it is this belief in one's exclusive character, which is the

19. Pandey, Sangam Lal, *Pre-Śaṅkara Advaita Philosophy*, Darshan Peeth, Allahabad, 1974, pp. 209-228;

See, Misra, Satya Deva, "Bhartṛprapañca; A Vedāntin of Pre-Śaṅkara era, *The Journal of Oriental Research*, Silver Jubilee Volume, Madras, Vol. 40-41, 1970-71, 1971-72pp. 12-33.

20. Hiriyanna, M. *Op.cit.*, p. 257.

source of all moral evil (*asāṅga*). Release, (*mokṣa*) in its first stage, means freeing oneself from this selfishness through realising one's unity with the rest and thus overcoming the belief in the ultimacy of the individual. This state is called *apavarga* wherein the Individual Soul being devoid of *āsāṅga* escapes from the state of *saṁsāra* and does not undergo birth-death cycle. But this state is not the final goal i.e. *mokṣa*. As in the state of *apavarga* the Individual Soul remains between the *saṁsāra* and *mokṣa*, *apavarga* is called intermediate state (*antarālāvasthā*). It is a midway between *bandha* and *mokṣa*, wherein the Individual Soul tries to overcome completely *avidyā* and gets realised with the *Hiranyagarbha*, which is the gateway to *mokṣa*, but this is not final.

In the second stage called *mokṣa*, the Individual Soul realizes its identity with *Brahman* and ceases to look upon the physical environment as altogether distinct from itself or on itself as finite. This is final stage. *Mokṣa* is thus a process of becoming in which the notion of the narrow Self comes to be expanded, stage by stage, until it feels its identity with *Brahman*. The *Ātman* thus fulfils itself i.e. *Brahman* finally in *Brahman*—the personal, in the super-personal. The condition reached is consequently one of perfect bliss, no absolute distinction being finally felt between *Brahman* and the *Ātman* or between spirit and matter.²¹

Prof. Hiriyanna explains the concept of *apavarga* in the following way :

"It leads to *Apavarga* or escape from '*saṁsāra*,' which *Bhāṭṭaprapaṇca* viewed as distinct from *mokṣa* though on the way to it. The soul that has so far succeeded will not be born again, for it has given up all narrow attachment, and its condition then is described as *antarālāvasthā*, (i.e. a condition intermediate between *saṁsāra* and *mokṣa*). It is there free from all the ills of life. Though the baleful influences of attachment (*āsāṅga*) one of its two limiting factors, have been overcome, the *Jīva* has not yet realised its true nature, for *avidyā*, the other factor, persists separating it from *Brahman*."²²

21. Hiriyanna, M. *Op.cit.*, p. 259.

22. Hiriyanna, M., *Indian Philosophical Studies*, "Bhāṭṭaprapaṇca : An Old Vedāntin", Kavyalaya Publishers, Mysore, 1957, p. 88; cf.

Śaṅkara on *Brh. Up.* III. ii. 13; *Apavargākhyāntarālāvasthām* I. 4.10; *Mokṣasya dvau bhedaḥ | ēko pāramokṣo'thavā apavargah dvitīyah paro mokṣo brahmabhāvāpattir vā | Asmin dehe eva brahmasākṣātkārānantaram apāramokṣo jāyate | Ayam mokṣo jīvanmuktisamānah, ayameva cāpavargah kathyate | Vastutah āsaṅgatyāganimittakas saṁsāranivṛttimātrarūpo'yamapāramokṣah | Asmin mokṣe dehesthītvā brahmaṇi layo na vivakṣyate | Dvitiyo mokṣah parā-bhidhāno dehapatānantaram bhavati | Avidyānivṛtterantaramayam jāyate | Asmin mokṣe brahmaṇi jīvasya layo'bhipretah ||*. Pandeya Muralidhara, *Śrī Śaṅkarāt prāgaḍvāitavādaḥ*, Bharatiya Vidya Prakasana, Delhi, 1986, p. 191.

Prof. Dasgupta also says:

Mokṣa or life's end is conceived as being achieved in two stages: the first leading to *apavarga* where *saṁsāra* is overcome through the overcoming of *āsaṅga*, and the second type leading to Brahmahood through the dispelling of *avidyā*”²³

Dr. Satyadeva Misra says:

“(It helps the aspirant to attain)” the state of *apavarga* or escape from the *saṁsāra*. But, it should be borne in mind that this is different from the *mokṣa*. It is *antarālāvasthā*, i.e. a state intermediate between the *saṁsāra* and *mokṣa*. Having reached this state, the *Jīva* gets rid of all attachments causing its births, but this is not all that it wants. It has to move a step further to remove the *avidyā*, which is the main cause of its limitation and separation from *Brahman*. In other words, it has to recognise its identity with *Brahman*..... It follows from this that Bhartṛprapañca recognises two kinds of *mokṣa*: (i) *apara-mokṣa* or *apavarga* and (ii) *parā muktī* or supreme Liberation. The first kind of *mokṣa* consists in realising identity with the *Hiraṇyagarbha*—while living in the body.... The second This state of *muktī* is possible after death”²⁴

“The world of *Hiraṇyagarbha* (or the *Sūtrātmā*) is attained when one's desires and acts are consumed by the fulfillment of desires and when one departs from the world of enjoyment. Also, that world is called *apavarga*, “freedom (from transmigratory existence”, for one is freed from this—our world of transmigratory existence. This world is manifested (*vyākṛta*) and limited (*paricchinna*) and is distinct from the *Brahman* on account of being pervaded by ignorance. Still the name remains (*nāmāvaśiṣṭa*). Therefore, one is in the state of duality (*dvaitāvasthā*). This world is not the final state one reaches, for one has yet to proceed from this world to a yet higher world. Hence, the world is said to be an intermediate world (*antarāla*) between the world of transmigratory existence and the state of the *Brahman* (which is the state of liberation). Like Śaṅkara, Bhartṛprapañca also regards this world as *apara Brahman*”²⁵

This discussion suggests the following points :—

- *Apavarga* unlike *mokṣa* is not the final goal of human being.
- It is an intermediary state (*antarāla* or *madhya avasthā*).

23 Dasgupta, S. N., *Op.cit*, p. 44.

24 Misra, Satya Deva, *Op.cit.*, pp. 132-133.

25 Hino, Shoun, “Sureśvara's Criticism of Bhartṛprapañca's View of Liberation”, *Aligarh Journal of Oriental Studies*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1984, p. 138.

- In this state, the Individual Soul though overcomes *saṁsāra* still does not obtain complete freedom.
- In this state, *avidyā* persists and does not perish completely.
- *Jīvātman* becomes free from birth-death cycle from the transmigratory world.

It is clear from the above that the concept of *apavarga* expounded by Bhartṛprapaṇca differs considerably from that of the Nyāya system. While according to the Nyāya system, *apavarga* is the final goal in the form of absolute cessation of misery, it is not so according to the Bhedābheda school. It is a middle stage where *Jīva* becomes free from the *saṁsāra* to realise the identity of *Brahman* which is the final goal.

DATING OF MANUSMṚTI

By

SURENDRA NATH MITAL*

The *Manusmṛti* is the most important work in Ancient India dealing with *dharma* (though it includes chapters on politics also i.e. *Rājadharmā*, including law i.e. *Vyavahāra*). It is a very systematic work even though diversions, here and there, can be found.

The *Manusmṛti* was considered important, not only in Ancient India, but its importance, even today, can not be denied. Ancient Indian tradition considers it to be the earliest work on *dharma*. Even today Ancient Indian *dharma* is praised or criticised mainly on the basis of these ideas of the *Manusmṛti*. Even Max Müller after fixing as late a date as possible for the Vedic Literature in his "*History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*", next turns his attention to the *Manusmṛti* and tries to "dispose of the Brahmanical legend according to which Hindu society was supposed to be governed by the codes of ancient sages,"¹ which means mainly the *Manusmṛti*, as Bühler quotes at that place a letter of Max Müller about that Smṛti. Swami Dayananda apart from the Vedas considers only the *Manusmṛti* as authoritative and two most important writers on Ancient India, without any axe to grind, viz. Dr. Bhagwan Das (*Science of Social Organisation*) and Rangaswami Aiyangar (*Social and Political Ideas of the Manusmṛti*) composed monographs on that Smṛti, which are not done by any one else on any other non-Vedic Book on *dharma*.

The *Manusmṛti* is considered important, as it deals with the whole of *dharma* in a systematic manner. No other work on *dharma* does that. Regarding the Dharmaśūtras even Bühler says that though they are minute on moral duties "their arrangement of the rules is frequently unsystematic"² *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* is also important, but it gives equal place to *ācāra* (rules on duties of persons in various *Varṇas*-castes, and *āśramas*-stages of life), *Vyavahāra* (law) and *Prāyaścitta* (penances, including philosophical thought), while *Manusmṛti*, even though it includes all these subjects within its fold, gives all subjects not

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* Dept. of Political Science, (Retd.), Allahabad University, 23, Edmonstone Road, Allahabad-1.

1 Intro. to *Āpastamba* p. 9.

2 Intro. *Manu* p. 53.

equal but due importance. The *Mahābhārata* has also made a detailed exposition of *dharma*, but it is very unsystematic. Thus a detailed and systematic exposition of *dharma* is found in the *Manusmṛti* only.

Another important fact, that a study of *Manusmṛti* shows, is that it is one compact whole, starting with the creation of beings and ending with their final merger in *Brahma* (God), through their following *dharma*, which is found in between these two (i.e. beginning of beings and their final goal). We shall deal with it later.

In connection with the dating of the *Manusmṛti*, though Bühler expresses doubts about Max Müller's date of Sūtras as 600-200 B.C. and also says that the existence of metrical manuals at a much earlier date has been clearly demonstrated³ and though he does not accept the date of this Smṛti accepted by Max Muller⁴ as later than 4th Cent. A.D.⁵ yet he fixes the date of this Smṛti between 2nd Cent. A.D. and second Cent. B.C.⁶ on the basis of Max Müller's thesis of the date of the Sūtras (6th Cent. B.C. to 2nd Cent. B.C.) and on the basis of his idea that all the metrical Smṛtis are later than Dharmasūtras. " There can be no doubt, however that all the genuine metrical Dharmasāstras, which we possess now are, without any exception, nothing but more modern texts of earlier Sūtra works."⁷ Not only does Bühler quote Max Müller's⁸ letter addressed to Mr. Morley dated July 19, 1849 in which Max Müller expressly advocates the idea of an earlier *Mānava dharmasūtra* as the basis of the *Manusmṛti*, but in his translation of the *Manusmṛti*⁹ speaks of Professor Max Müller's " now generally accepted view according to which our *Manusmṛti* is based on, or is in fact a recast of an ancient Dharmasūtra," and that " while the Dharmasūtras possess considerable antiquity, dating between 600-200 B.C., the metrical smṛtis can not be equally ancient because there is much in their form that is modern, and specially because the epic *anuṣṭubha śloka* was not used for continuous composition during the Sūtra period "¹⁰

Two conclusions of Bühler regarding the *Manusmṛti* seem to be correct, viz. (1) that the *Manusmṛti* is not the earliest Dharmasāstra and that Dharmasāstra literature existed before it, though the books of those Dharmasāstra writers,

3 Intro. *Manu*. p. 22

4 *India, What Can It Teach Us* p. 366

5 Intro. *Manu* p. 67

6 *Ibid*

7 *His. of Anc. Sans. Lit.* p. 119 also see p. 77 end of second para

8 Intro. *Apastamba* pp. 9-11

9 Intro. p. 18

10 *Ibid*. p. 19

spoken of in the *Manusmṛti* are not available now. It is possible that those works may not have treated of the whole of *dharma* and may have dealt only with particular aspects of it, (2) That the *Manusmṛti* is not a work either of Manu or of his pupil Bhṛgu, but as Govindarāja says,¹¹ that some pupil of Bhṛgu has recited this composition which has come down through an unbroken tradition.

In order to prove that the *Manusmṛti* is later and not earlier than the 2nd Cent. B.C. Bühler has to place emphasis on Max Müller's argument that the extant Smṛti is a recast of the ancient *Mānava Dharmasūtra*. However, this argument faces one difficulty that the existence of the *Mānava Sūtracarāṇa* cannot be proved for the *Mānava Grhya Sūtra* does not quite agree with the Smṛti. This is admitted by Bühler who also refers to a similar opinion of Prof. Jolly and Dr. Von Bradke.¹² Kane also quotes various instances where the *Grhya* and the *Dharmasūtras*¹³ differ though Bühler somehow tries to show that the supposed connection between the original of *Manusmṛti* and the *Mānava School* may nevertheless have existed "for the examples of *Hairanykeśas* and *Mādhyandins* show that sūtras (*śrauta*, *grhya* and *dharma* mine) adopted by a School are not always composed by one and the same teacher. It is, therefore, still possible that the ancient *Mānava Dharmasūtra* was considered as the special property of the *Mānavas* but was not composed by the same teacher as the *Grhya Sūtra*, or that though both works had the same author, the materials for their composition were borrowed from different sources".¹⁴ Regarding this argument, Kane¹⁵ remarks "it must be said with great respect that the arguments are often *a priori* and savour more or less of special pleading."

Bühler, then, in order to prove existence of a *Mānava sūtracarāṇa* points out to the *Mānava Śrāddhakalpa* some of whose verses are the same as those of the *Manusmṛti* but Dr. Caland points out that "though single verses of the *Manusmṛti* tally with the *Śrāddhakalpa* of the *Mānava School* yet the descriptions of the funeral rites widely differ in the two works."¹⁶

Bühler also refers to *Dharmasūtras* and says that some of their opinions, ascribed to Manu, are taken from the *Mānava Dharmasūtra*. In this matter he particularly refers to *Vasiṣṭha*¹⁷ *Dharmasūtra* and also to a few passages therein

11 Comm. on *Manu*. 1.1.

12 Intro, *Manu* pp. 22-23.

13 *His. of Dh. S.* Vol. I, p. 310.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

15 *His. of Dh. S.* Vol. I p. 317.

16 Quoted by Kane in *His. of Dh. S.* Vol. I p. 311.

17 If also to pp. 27-28 later.

which are given as the views of Manu, but are not found in the *Manusmṛti*.¹⁸ This matter is also examined in detail by Kane who examines similar passages in the *Manusmṛti* and *Vasiṣṭha* and then concludes, "There are only two places in *Vasiṣṭha* where the name of Manu occurs for which it is not possible to point out a corresponding verse in the *Manusmṛti*. They are Vas. 12. 16 and 19. 37. Because this is not found in Manu, Bühler and other Western scholars think that the verse is taken from the *Mānava Dharmasūtra* which once existed in both prose and verse but is now lost. But as will be shown elsewhere, this hypothesis is based, to say the least, on very slender foundations. Besides these two that are not found in our Manu, there are about forty verses that are common to the Vas. Dh. S. and the *Manusmṛti* and about a dozen verses, though not strictly identical are more or less similar. There are several prose sūtras of Vas. which correspond to the verses of Manu almost word for word. The hypothesis that commends itself to me is the Vas. contains borrowings from the *Manusmṛti* or its purer ancient original in verse."¹⁹

Later on Kane devotes one small chapter to analyse whether the *Mānava Dharmasūtra* was there²⁰ and his answer is in the negative. In that chapter Kane also shows which he does elsewhere also (see below) that for all the *sūtracaraṇas*, dharmasūtras did not exist and after giving Kumārila's statement gives his own view. "The *Tantravārtika* of Kumārila contains very interesting observations on this point. It says that the *Gautama* (*Dharmasūtra*) and *Gobhila* (*Gr̥hyasūtra*) were studied by the *Chandogas* (*Sāmavedins*), *Vasiṣṭha* (*Dharmasūtra*) by the *R̥gvedins*, the *Dharmasūtra* of *Śaṅkhalikhita* by the followers of *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* (White *Yajurveda*) and the sūtras, *Āpastamba* and *Baudhyāna* by the followers of *Taittirīya Śākhā* (Black *Yajurveda*).... From this it appears that although originally all *sūtracaraṇas* might not have possessed Dharmasūtras composed by the founder of the *caraṇa* or ascribed to him, yet gradually certain Dharmasūtras were specially taken over or appropriated by certain *caraṇas*. As the Dharmasūtras were mostly concerned with rules about the conduct of men as members of the Aryan community, and did not deal with ritual of any kind, all Dharmasūtras gradually became authoritative in all schools."²¹ "Kumārila who was a most learned and profound student of the various branches of Sanskrit Literature nowhere mentioned the *Mānava Dharmasūtra*.... *Viśvarūpa*, who is generally identified with Sureśvara, the pupil of Śaṅkara remarks that the *Mānavacaraṇa* is non-existent."²²

18 Intro. pp. 29-35.

19 *His. of Dh. S.* Vol. I pp. 102-3.

20 *Ibid.* pp. 143-49.

21 *His. of Dh. S.* Vol. I p. 20.

22 *Ibid.* p. 149.

Bühler in order to show that the present *Manusmṛti*, is a recast of a Dharmasūtra tries to show that there have been various additions to it on the basis of a comparison of the *Manusmṛti* with the other *Dharmasūtras*. For example, he calls the whole of chapter I as 'foreign to the original Sūtra'²³ and the twelfth chapter as "entirely due to the author of the metrical version".²⁴ Now a study of the *Manusmṛti* shall show that it is one compact whole. It starts with the beginning (Ch. I) of the creation and with the coming into existence of different parts of nature and the different divisions of time i.e. *yugas* etc. and of the different kinds of living beings. Of these living beings it is only man who can understand what is virtue and what is just animal behaviour. Then, men are divided in this chapter into four types, each being accorded a different profession, of whom the brāhmaṇa i.e. the teacher, being the supreme. The chapter ends with a table of contents. Thereafter giving the rules that are to be followed by men for living a life of virtue, (in the form of rules of *varṇas* and *āśramas* and rules common for all known as *sādhāraṇa dharma*), *Manusmṛti* ends with the final goal of human life i.e. liberation from a life of unhappiness, from a life of recurrent births and deaths (Ch. XII). From chapter II to VI are mainly given the *dharma*s of *āśramas* mainly in the form of the *dharma* of brāhmaṇas though other *varṇas* are also included, therein. From the VII to the IX chapters are given the *dharma*s of the kṣatriyas (or of king), and at the end of the IX chapter *dharma*s of the Vaiśyas and the śūdras though in a brief form. In the X chapter is given a description of the different mixed castes and livelihood of various castes in ordinary life and in times of distress (even those of the kings). In the eleventh chapter the topic of the livelihood of the *varṇas* is continued and here the Smṛti states the duty of the Ksatriyas of maintaining the brāhmaṇas, so that they may not be put into difficulties. Thereafter are mentioned the penances (*prāyaścitta*) for people acting contrary to *dharma*. In the twelfth chapter one finds respectively the necessity of performing good acts and avoiding evil ones, the three *guṇas* in detail, the results of one's actions in after life, the way one can obtain *Mokṣa*, the *pariṣad*. which declares *dharma* when it is not already found in the śāstras and lastly the *phalaśruti* found usually in every Indian work (i.e. the effect of the study of that book). All this detailed description of the *Manusmṛti* shows that it is one piece and that it is probably without any alterations, because the text found in various manuscripts is nearly the same and all printed books contain the same *ślokas* (some books adding interpolations in brackets). Not that there are no diversions, or, that if necessity arises, something is not said there which may not belong to the subject matter in discussion though it may be quite unconnected with it. This however does not

23 Intro. Manu. p. 66

24 Ibid. p. 73

detract from the ordinarily uniform arrangement of the Smṛti and its being a single piece.

After describing all this, it is unnecessary to go into the details of the supposed later additions to the Smṛti as pointed out by Bühler, but, it being useful we shall still do so, though we shall only do this with regard to some comparatively longer passages, which shall be sufficient to demonstrate the fact that they cannot be called interpolations. We shall not go into a *śloka* or two, where it is pointed out by Bühler so as not to make the discussion more detailed. Apart from chapter I, Bühler in the II chapter points out two long passages as interpolations-*ślokas* 1 to 11 and 88 to 100. Now, after the end of the Ist chapter, Manu, as is natural, begins with *dharma* and why men perform it i.e. its relation with desires (*Kāma*) and this statement about *dharma* continues not till the 11th, but till the 15th *śloka*. The second passage consists of *ślokas* 88 to 100. It comes between the muttering of ' *Om* ' and the performance of *sandhyā* (morning and evening prayers) and describes, the ten organs of sensation and the necessity of controlling them of course, by these means i.e. *Om* and *sandhyā*, though Bühler says that this " has nothing whatsoever to do with the matter treated of. " ²⁵ So there seems to be nothing unnatural in these passages placed, as they seem, at their proper places. He also considers some passages on ' *Om* , ' the *Savitṛ* (*Gāyatri-ślokas* 76 to 87), on the meekness required of the brāhmaṇas (*ślokas* 60-63) and of the worship due to parents as considerably enlarged, though he is prepared to accept these on the ground that " in each case something of the kind may have occurred in the *Dharmasūtras* . " In the third chapter, he points out one long passage on the classification of manes (*pitr̥s*) as it " is in this form foreign to Vedic Literature. " However as this passage occurs on a discussion of the *śrāddha* ceremony of the Man where that classification is given it is quite natural at this place. He considers some passages in this chapter as more doubtful e.g. on the duty of conjugal intercourse (vv 46-50), on the honour due to women (vv 55-60) though they occur in connection with marriage and the mutual relationship between husband and wife, and also on the results of inviting sinners and men of bad conduct to *śrāddhas* (vv 169-82), which is bound to occur in a discussion of *śrāddhas*. There seems to be nothing wrong in these two passages and Bühler also accepts that possibly the ancient sūtra contains hints on these subjects. He considers a discussion on the excellence of the order of the householder (vv 76-81 and not only 79-80 as pointed out by Bühler) as placed wrongly and thinks that it should have occurred at the end of chapter VI. Now, chapter VI deals mainly with the orders (*āśramas*) of the hermits (*Vānaprasthas*) and ascetics (*sannyāsīs*) and ends with the ten ethical precepts common to all *āśramas*. Inbetween comes an exhortation that all the four orders should be followed (vv. 87-89), but it is only in one verse that the

25 *Ibid.* p. 67.

Smṛti considers the order of the householder to be superior amongst all these orders. Therefore, the importance of the householder as described in the third chapter, in connection with the five daily (or important) sacrifices (*mahāyajñas*) because of which the householder is the basis of the subsistence of the whole world, is not at all wrongly placed. In *chapter IV* Bühler considers the first twenty four *ślokas* on the manner in which a *snātaka* may support himself as 'suspicious' and not improbably 'a later addition' because though 'such discussion is common in Purāṇas and later works, is unknown in Vedic Literature.' However he does not call much of it as an addition as Vasiṣṭha prefixes 'some hints on this matter.' He considers with "greater certainty" as a later addition the sin of accepting gifts from some persons including the king which lead a brāhmaṇa to hell enumerated here (vv 84-91) but as these rules are given as parts of the rules of behaviour of *snātaka* (i.e. of a householder, mainly a brāhmaṇa who has returned home after completing his studies) it should not be considered as not proper. Two other probable big interpolations pointed out are (vv. 179-85) why quarrels with some persons should be avoided and on the reasons why spiritual merit should be accumulated. As this occurs in a general discussion of *dharma* beginning with verse 155 and continues till verse 243 and, in between, various aspects of *dharma*, with regard to a *snātaka* (householder) are enumerated, and these include that one should not hurt or injure others, esp., the Brāhmaṇas (vv. 162-170), should not enter into disputations with various types of people including relatives (vv. 172-185), that gifts should not be sought after even by the Brāhmaṇas (vv. 186-191), that one, even a Brāhmaṇa, should not be a hypocrite, in matters of *dharma* (and gifts ought not to be given to such people vv. 192-200), that one should not eat food of certain persons (vv. 206-225), and the importance of giving gifts (vv. 227-238). In between some verses on the importance of *dharma* have also been given including the section on gifts (vv. 186-197) which according to Bühler has been 'mixed with modern elements'.²⁶ It is difficult to understand what Bühler means by modern elements unless it means Manu's asking the Brāhmaṇa not to practice *dharma* in a spurious manner. So either the whole section from verse 155-243 is spurious or, what seems to be more correct is that different aspects of *dharma* of *snātaka* have been enumerated. Regarding the next two chapters (V & VI), Bühler is of the opinion that they present fewer suspicious passages. Yet he says on the basis of Vasiṣṭha's *Dharmasūtra* (IV 5-8) that the rules on the permissibility of meat have been much altered and enlarged and the same is the case with regard to the last section on duties of women. Yet enlargement is not interpolation. Concerning the latter subject, in the *Manusmṛti* a discussion on women or their relations with men is found at two places (Ch. V and IX). Of course some

similarity of matter is there, but while in chapter V the subject is treated as part of duties of women (*strīdharmā*) the chapter IX is on *Vyavahāra* and therein this section is entitled as "the duties in connection with the mutual relations of men and women" (*strīpuṇḍharmā*) and deals with the subject mainly from the point of view of men as to how they should act in relation to women and also with some other matters on this subject such as the avoidance of adultery and the control over women so that they may not be able to practise adultery, on the relative importance of the seed (men) and the soil (women) in the procreation of children, the rules about widow's begetting children from persons other than the husband (*nijoga*), on the advice against the selling of the girls and of not giving them again to another in marriage, on the girl's marrying herself after a certain age and on how long should a woman wait for her husband and, probably, then go over to another person. Thus the whole temperament of discussion in these two chapters is quite different. An example may be given. In both the chapters it is stated that a woman is not to be independent throughout life, but the same rule has been given in these chapters from different angles. Chapter V (V. 148) says that "In childhood a woman ought to remain subject to her father, in youth to one who has married her, and after her husband's death to her sons. A woman should not try to become independent." The verse in chapter IX (3) is "in childhood her father protects her, in youth her husband, and in her old age her son. A woman is never fit for independence." The rule is the same, but while at one place it is stated as a part of woman's duty and at the next place from the point of view of how men are to behave towards them. In spite of this even Bühler admits, "The example of *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasāstra* shows that some of the old *sūtrakāras* treated the duties of women in two sections.²⁷ But it also proves that they did not, as our *Manusmṛti* does, go twice over the same matter." The reason for this repetition has been explained by us above. Even in the sixth chapter Bühler has objection to one passage (vv. 61-81) because it "goes beyond the ranges of *Dharma-sūtras*" and this section is regarding the meditations to which an ascetic must give himself up in order to attain salvation. It is strange as if what is not found in the *Dharma-sūtras* could not have been in the *Manusmṛti* even if it comes within the purview of the subject which is being treated viz. the life of an ascetic or a *sannyāsi*.

Manusmṛti's chapters VII to IX (vv. 1-325) deal with the king's duties and legal rules. Bühler thinks that the case with these chapters is different, simply because much of the matter is not found in the *Dharma-sūtras*. Let him be quoted "Among the 226 verses of the seventh chapter there are only fifty four to which passages of the *Dharma-sūtras* and *Viṣṇusmṛti* correspond..... With

27 Vas. V and XVII 55-80

respect to the eighth chapter and the first 224 verses of the ninth, which give the rules regarding the eighteen titles of law the remodeller seems to be equally active". The reason for it is that while the present Dharmasūtras deal with the kings duties and matters of law in very brief, the *Manusmṛti* is more detailed in these. This is no ground for thinking that these rules must have been later additions to a previous conjectural *Mānava Dharmasūtra*. It would be just like saying that as the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* contained detailed rules on administration and law not found in other books on politics e.g. *Kāmandaka*, *Somadeva*, etc. who follow Kauṭīliya, so these rules must not have formed part of the original *Arthaśāstra*, but some later hand may have added them in the name of Kauṭīliya.

After discussing the duties of the four *varṇas*²⁸ the *Manusmṛti* in the X chapter speaks of the mixed castes (formed by a relationship of men and women of different *varṇas*) and rules regarding them and then comes to the rules for the *varṇas* in distress (*Āpaddharma*). This is a natural order in which these subjects are discussed, and Bühler also does not object to the inclusion of these subjects in the smṛti. However he thinks that the discussion of mixed castes is misplaced as "the older works treat this subjects in connexion with the law of marriage or with the rules of inheritance. It is, however, not impossible that the *Mānava Dharmasūtra* placed the section on mixed castes just before the *āpaddharmas*, and that the author of the matrical version combined both in one chapter and gave them a common title".²⁹ His objections to the treatment of the mixed caste is "that the treatment of the subject in the former work (*Mānava Dharmasūtra*) must have been very different from that it receives in vv. 1-74. The Dharmasūtras either enumerate one or two sets of mixed castes... Our *Manusmṛti*, on the other hand, is much more minute in its details, and introduces a good many new names of which the sūtras knew nothing".³⁰ On the rules for emergencies Bühler has very little objection because "they agree, in the main with the Sūtras" but he thinks that "the supplementary notes on the same subject vv. 101-31, are probably additions made on the revision of the subject".³¹ There seem to be several lacunas in this matter as stated by Bühler. Firstly, the *Manusmṛti* does not give a common title to the two subjects found in chapter X. It definitely calls the later '*āpaddharma*' (v. 130), and as regards the mixed castes the *Manusmṛti* at the beginning of the chapter says that there are only four *varṇas* and not a fifth and, thereafter gives details of the castes formed by an admixture of these four *varṇas*, after dealing with the

28 Chapters II to IX.

29 P. 71.

30 *Ibid.* pp. 71-72.

31 *Ibid.* p. 72.

duties of the *varṇas* in the previous chapters. Secondly, if *Manusmṛti* gives a more detailed list of the mixed castes than the other available Dharmasūtras, it can not mean that the *Manusmṛti*, is a recast of the old original. *Manusmṛti*, being an original work, it could have been in the original itself. Thirdly, the last verses of the chapter (101-31) do not at all seem to be supplementary additions. The rules of *āpaddharma* of all the four *varṇas* (including those of Kṣatriyas or Kings) are continued in these verses, and there is nothing unrelated to the subject. In chapter XI, vv. 1-40 could have been considered spurious because at the end of the tenth chapter, Manu says that he is now going to describe the manner of performance of penances. However, it is not done immediately afterwards but after 40 verses. This discrepancy would have been difficult to explain and the commentators also, as Bühler says, find difficulty in explaining this anomaly regarding the presence of verses on the help the brāhmaṇas can seek or ought to be given as regards sacrifices, and two or three verses on the gifts to be given to some brāhmaṇas. Strangely enough Bühler is prepared to accept the verses given here as original. In favour of this he says, "It seems more probable that here as in the preceeding chapter, two separate sections of the original work have been welded together in one *adhyāya* (chapter). In favour of this view it may be pointed out that in *Gautama's Dharmasūtra* XVIII, 28-32, a number of rules, corresponding to *Manu* XI, 11-23 stand just before the *prāyaścitta kāṇḍa*. A passage of the *Mahābhārata*, which will be discussed below (XII, 165), shows exactly the same combination as our *Smṛti*.³² To try to prove later addition or non-additions to the *Manusmṛti* on the basis of the Dharmasūtras or even the *Mahābhārata* could go no further than this explanation of Bühler. Even a discrepancy is conceded if it agrees with these Dharmasūtras, while even if there is nothing wrong and the discussion is perfectly natural in a particular order, these are considered as later additions, because they are not found in these works. In chapter XII which according to Bühler contains four matters (1) the three *guṇas* (qualities), goodness (*sattva*), activity (*rajas*) and darkness (*tamas*), based on doctrines of *Sāṅkhya*, *Yoga* and *Vedānta* 'find no place in the older law-books' (2) the following discussion on *Karmavipākas* 'is altogether wrongly placed' as it 'ought to stand in the beginning of the section on penances, where Viṣṇu and Yājñavalkya have a number of corresponding *sūtras* and verses' and (3) the section of the means of attaining supreme bliss 'have already been discussed in the fourth and sixth chapters'. and (4) the myth concerning the origin of the *śāstra* (vv. 116-26) which is narrated in the spurious first chapter'. As regards the last matter, there is only one verse here (v. 117) which speaks of the origin of this *Smṛti*,

32 *Ibid.* pp. 72-73.

all other verses are about *Brahma* and of the necessity of one's being merged in him. The third matter has been discussed here (Ch. XII) as the finale of the life of men (though some of that discussion may also be natural in connection with the ascetic *sannyāsī* i.e. chapter 6th), while in the fourth chapter, I could only find four verses concerning Supreme Bliss (22-24 and 258) and that too in connection with the life of a householder, so that he may not lose sight of the supreme goal. The discussion on the results of wrong actions in after life, *Karmavipāka* i.e. (2) is as natural here as it may be natural in *Viṣṇu* and *Yājñavalkya* at their own places, as it is found here where a man's life after death is discussed; lastly, the description of the three qualities is not unconnected when one is speaking about how to obtain supreme bliss, because a development through these qualities leads a being towards that end.

At the beginning of this discussion on later additions Bühler states its basis which has already been discussed above. "It may be assumed as a general maxim, that rules and other statements of our *Manu*, which find counterparts in the critically unsuspicious portions of the *Sūtras* of *Gautama*, *Baudhāyana*, *Āpastamba* and *Vasiṣṭha*, probably occurred also in the *Mānava Dharmasūtra*. On the other hand those rules and discussion which can not be traced in one of the old *sūtras* are at least suspicious and require careful consideration. If these are entirely foreign to the *Sūtras* or *Vedic* literature, they may confidently be rejected as interpolations.³³ It is difficult to accept this argument without a reference to the discussions of the various subjects in their natural order in the *Manusmṛti* itself.

In spite of his nonacceptance of the theory of a *Mānava Dharmasūtra*, Kane examines the question 'whether the *Manusmṛti* contains earlier and later strata' and answers in the affirmative, firstly on the ground that *Manusmṛti* contains conflicting doctrines³⁴ of which he gives six examples. Secondly he combines this first argument with another one (p. 332). "It may be admitted that most of the passages pointed out by him (Bühler) have rather the flavour of complete modernity about them. My own position is that the original *Manusmṛti* in verse had certain additions made in order to bring it in a line with the general attitude of people on several points such as those of flesh-eating and *niyoga* etc. But all these additions must have been made long before the third century A.D. (at least i.e. hundreds of years earlier-mine) as the quotations from *Bṛhaspati* and others show." Thus instead of accepting the present *Manusmṛti* as a recast of a *Dharmasūtra*, he calls it a newer edition of the old versified *Smṛti*. However, at

33 *Ibid.* pp. 65-66

34 His of *Dharmasāstra* Vol. I, p. 331.

another place, Kane accepts in connection with relation of the *Manusmṛti* and the *Mahābhārata* that "Bühler's assumptions are to say the least gratuitous and are prompted by his unwillingness to assign an early date to the Smṛti of Manu."³⁵ When we examine Kane's first point regarding contradictory sayings in Manu, Manu himself held "when two sacred texts are conflicting, both are held to be law, for both are pronounced by the wise valid law". Then, Manu gives an example that the *Agnihotra* can be performed after sun has arisen or has not arisen or when the sun and the stars are not visible, as all three have been stated by Vedic texts. (II. 14-15). Medhātithi also suggests presence of conflicting passages, because they owe their origin to Vedic passages.³⁶ Such contradictory statements occur not only in the *Manusmṛti* but also in the *Dharmasūtras*. For example, Manu in one verse says that the father is a hundred times more venerable than the teacher. In the next verse he places the teacher higher than the father and in the next two verses gives the reasons for the second statement that the father and mother have procreated sons because of sexual desires which is lower than the ever lasting birth given by the teacher who knows the whole Veda through *Savitṛ* (II 145-8). Gautama also holds that according to some the teacher is the chief *guru* while according to some it is the mother (II. last aphorism). Similarly in Manu (II. 23-26) different opinions are given regarding the type of marriages permissible for different *Varṇas* (there are eight kinds of marriages). However the last two verses give the final conclusion. Āpastamba in his *Dharmasūtra* (II. 27.2) prohibits the procreation of *kṣetrāja* sons, while in his *Śrauta Sūtra* (I. 9.7) he says that *piṇḍapitṛyajña* can be performed by a son of two fathers. This is like Manu where *niyoga* is permitted and then objected to (IX. 59-68). "The medieval *nibandhas* frequently follow the strange method of teaching adopted by Manu".³⁷ Kane himself admits (referring to Bühler) "that Sanskrit writers are in the habit of placing side by side conflicting opinions without actually preferring a particular view to the other."³⁸ He also tries to explain three contradictions, "Manu (in III. 13) allows a *brāhmaṇa* to marry a *śūdra* woman but in the following verses (III. 14-19) he severely condemns such marriages. That means he condemned the practice of a former age (and not that it is a later addition mine). Similarly the practice of *niyoga* (appointment of a brother-in-law to procreate a son on the widow of a sonless person) was set out at some length by Manu (in IX. 53-62), but immediately afterwards he condemns it (in IX. 64-68) as beastly (*paśudharma* in IX. 66). Bṛhaspati refers to these passages of Manu that Manu describes the practice of

35 *Ibid.* pp. 343-4.

36 See Bühler Intro p. XCV.

37 Bühler p. XCV.

38 Kane, *His. of Dh. S.* Vol. I, p. 333.

niyoga, but he himself forbade it”³⁹ Similarly, at another place (*Ibid*, p. 343) Kane seeks to resolve the contradiction in regard to the imposition of different fines for debts denied by the debtor (IX, 59, 139), as pointed out by Hopkins.

With regard to the second argument of Kane that the spurious passages pointed out are really so because they have the flavour of modernity about them, Kane speaks of the argument as set out by Bühler. “The cosmological and philosophical portions in the first and 12th books, the philosophical disquisitions in II, 89-100, the classification of *pitarah* in III, 193-201, the means of subsistence of the *brāhmaṇas* in IV, 1-24, verses 1-4 of the fifth book, the rules about mixed castes (X, 1-7) and the duties of castes that are repeated in X, 101-131 were put in when the work was versified from the *Mānava Dharma-sūtra*.” However, Bühler has a considerably longer list as shown above. Kane does not mention any such passages from chapters VI to IX. In any case, among all these passages none has a flavour of modernity except IV, 1-18 (not 1-24) which speaks of the economic behaviour of the *brāhmaṇas* and insists on their remaining pure. Apart from it Kane, in another connection, refutes the argument that he advances here about some ideas being more modern than others. At a place where he discusses who is later—*Āpastamba* or *Baudhāyana*, Kane says, “Another reason pointed out for the priority of *Baudhāyana*’s work over *Āpastamba* is that, though both have numerous sūtras that agree almost word for word, a comparison of the views of the two writers shows that *Āpastamba* lays down stricter and more puritanical (and therefore later) views on certain points than *Baudhāyana*.” Kane concludes “These questions are hardly conclusive on the question of date. From very ancient times there was great divergence among doctors of law on most, if not all, of these points. There is no hard and fast rule that these doctrines were upheld by early writers and condemned by later ones.”⁴⁰

Another reason pointed out for *Manu*’s version being a recast is that some verses quoted as *Manu*’s are not found there, and, therefore, they must have been adopted from another work known as *Manu*’s. Both Bühler and Hopkins held this view. Bühler gives some examples e.g. *Mahābhārata* (XII, 56.24) regarding fire being born of water and *kṣatriyas* of *brāhmaṇas* which is not found in *Manu*.⁴¹ Again, while *Mahābhārata* says (XII, 61.35) that according to *Manu*, one fourth of the guilt of subjects, who are not well-protected by the king, falls on the latter, *Manu* does not speak of one-fourth, but of one sixth guilt (VIII, 304).⁴² In the *Mahābhārata*, there is also a long passage (XII, 36.3-50) attributed to *Manu* “*Manu*’s speech consists of forty five verses among

39 *Ibid*, pp. 320-21

40 *His. of Dh. S.* Vol. I. pp. 50-51.

41 *Manu*. Intro. p. 75

42 *Ibid*. p. 172.

which two agree fully and five partly with *ślokas* of *Manusmṛti*. But one of the fully agreeing verses (V. 46) i.e. Manu II. 157 occurs also in two other Dharma-sūtras (Va. III.II; Baud. I. 10) and belongs, therefore, to the traditional lore of the Vedic schools.⁴³ The conclusion from these instances that Bühler draws is that the *Mahābhārata* 'extracted them and the whole piece from a single *śāstra*'⁴⁴ Kane also says that the *Tantravārtika* quotes a passage as Manu's which is found in *Mahābhārata* and he also thinks (probably because of his theory of an earlier versified Smṛti) that Kumārila had a text of Manu slightly different from the extant Manu.⁴⁵ However, throughout Kane's First Volume numerous instances have been pointed out where a verse is quoted as of a Dharmasūtrakāra or of a versified Smṛti is either not found there or is quoted as another writer's e.g. Vasiṣṭha (II.6) quotes a verse of Baudhāyana (I. 2.7) as that of Hārīta⁴⁶ or e.g. sūtras quoted as Gautama's by the *Mitākṣarā* or the *Smṛti Candrikā* are not found in *Gautama Dharmasūtra*.⁴⁷ Not only this, Kane points out the reason for this that 'this is explicable in several ways.' " For one thing the authors quote from memory may be found tripping. For example, in an inscription of the Badami Calukyas of the 7th cent. two verses that occur in most grants of lands are ascribed to Manu, but are not found in the extant *Manusmṛti*. No one can for a moment doubt that *Manusmṛti* was not an authoritative work in the 7th cent."⁴⁸ At another place, Kane gives examples⁴⁹ " As most of the writers quote from memory and had recourse to mss. and not to standard editions even well-known verses are ascribed to different authors in different works. The verses *bhrātṛṇām prajāḥ* which are quoted as Nārada's (*Nārada* 16.25-26) in *Vyavāharamayūkha* are attributed to Śaṅkha in the *Madanapārījāta* (p. 680). The three verses about *bandhus* are ascribed to Baudhāyana by Mādhava and to *Vṛddha-śātātapa* by the *Madanapārījāta* (p. 674)." The whole theory of a recast based on some verses quoted as Manu's not being found there does not hold ground. Of course, it is true that both the *Nārada-smṛti* and *Medhātithi* consider the present *Manusmṛti* as an abridgement of previous works (see later) but not of any additions to the Smṛti.

After having thus considered the unified nature of the *Manusmṛti* we need not go into the question whence has this additional matter been drawn. Bühler begins by saying that "a clue to the conclusion of this problem is furnished by the peculiar relation of the *Manusmṛti* to the *Mahābhārata*," (p. 74) and the reasons are that in *Mahābhārata* of certain quotations given as Manu's

43 *Ibid.* p. 79

44 *Ibid.*

45 *Ibid.* pp. 348-39.

46 *Ibid.* p. 160.

47 *Ibid.* p. 32.

48 *Ibid.* p. 364.

49 *Ibid.* p. 305.

some are to be found there and some not, so that it is the *Manusmṛti* which is the borrower. Secondly, that Manu seems to refer (such as gambling between Pāṇḍavas and their cousins) to certain stories found in the *Mahābhārata*. All this shows that according to Bühler, the *Manusmṛti* is later than the *Mahābhārata*. The theory advanced by Prof. Hopkins⁵⁰ is that there was a floating mass of verses from which both have drawn. However after a full examination Bühler concludes "that the editor of the *Manusmṛti* has not drawn on the *Mahābhārata*"⁵¹ and accepts the theory of the floating mass of verses, not in the name of Manu as Hopkins says, but from the philosophical and legal schools whose wisdom existed in metrical form. Kane also examines this question and gives a list of various persons referred to both in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Smṛti* but says that "Most of the names mentioned here go far back into Vedic antiquities. For example Vasiṣṭha's oath occurs in *Rgveda* (VII. 104.15) and the *Bṛhaddevatā* (V. 132-34). Aṅgīrta figures in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII.16) and Aṅgīrāsa's story occurs in the *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* (13.2.24). Besides the *Manusmṛti* does not say that the stories are taken from the great epic. The *Mahābhārata* was also not the first to originate these stories but is only a store-house and encyclopaedia of the numerous popular traditions current in ancient India." As regards Manu's opinion about not indulging in gambling because in previous times it has resulted in enmities (IX. 227), Kane says from Vedic times evil effects of gambling were known (vide *Rgveda* X.34). As regards the first point Kane says "there are numerous passages in the *Mahābhārata* scattered over almost all the *parvans* where occur such expressions as 'Manuḥ abravīt' (Manu said), 'The Rājadharmā of Manu,' 'the Śāstra of Manu' etc." Some of these agree with extant *Manusmṛti* and some do not. Besides there are hundreds of verses in the *Mahābhārata* that are identical with the verses of *Manusmṛti* (Bühler speaks of at least 260 such verses in *Vana*, *Sānti* and *Anuśāsana parvans*) that are identical with the verses of the *Manusmṛti* though they are not expressly attributed to Manu" and then asks "what then is the conclusion? Prima facie it should be on account of all these above mentioned facts, against the *Mahābhārata* and in favour of the *Manusmṛti* being the earlier of the two".⁵²

After all this discussion, Bühler in conclusion fixes the date of the *Manusmṛti*. Of course, in the background the fact, as had been stated by Max Müller, is there that all metrical *smṛtis* are later than all the Dharmasūtras, and that all metrical *smṛtis* are versified forms of earlier Dharmasūtras. As Max Müller fixes the date of Kalpasūtras (including Dharmasūtras) as between 6th Cent. B.C.

50 *Journal of American Oriental Society*, Vol. XI, pp. 257 ff)

51 Intro. *Manu*, p. 90.

52 *His. of Dh. S.* Vol. I pp. 336-7.

and 2nd cent B.C. even though Bühler says that it is not advisable to place the Sūtras to 'so late a period as 600-200 B.C.' and though he accepts 'the existence of metrical school manuals at a much earlier date'⁵³ yet he, in accordance with Max Müller's theory is not prepared to place *Manusmṛti* earlier than 2nd cent B.C. i.e. after the Sūtra period.

Before concluding, Bühler first shows that the *Manusmṛti* is the first recast of the *Mānava Dharmasūtra*, by which he wants to show that the present *Manusmṛti* is not a very late work. To this he adds another argument to show that the *Manusmṛti* is the first among the metrical smṛtis, viz. that in matters of law (*Vyavahāra*) this smṛti is more detailed than the Dharmasūtras but less systematic than the later smṛtis by which Bühler means only the *Yājñavalkya* and *Nārada Smṛtis*. The lacuna in this argument is that Bühler does not take into consideration other later metrical smṛtis, such as that of *Parāśara* and others which also either do not or imperfectly deal with *Vyavahāra* (law). Secondly, he refers only to the *Vyavahāra* section of the Dharmasūtras and the above mentioned smṛtis and not to the *ācāra* section (including *prāyaścitta*) about which he admits this fact to be 'perfectly true' that this work contains some very archaic doctrines' and adds that "the inference regarding its age becomes doubtful because on other subjects Manu is ahead of other Smṛtis, and because in general the development of the actual doctrines seems to have been not quite steady and continuous".⁵⁴ Therefore, placing *Manusmṛti* in this chronological position simply on the basis of its chapters on *Vyavahāra* would not be perfectly correct.

It is after these arguments, Bühler fixes the date of the *Manusmṛti*. "The *terminus a quo* which has been gained for the composition of Bhṛgu's *Samhitā* is the age of the *Mahābhārata* and the *terminus ad quem* the dates of the metrical Smṛtis of *Yājñavalkya* and *Nārada*," "though we are at present not in a position to assert anything positive regarding the period when the *Mahābhārata* and especially its twelfth and thirteenth *Parvans* were written and though the date of *Yājñavalkya's* *Dharmaśāstra* is very doubtful".⁵⁵ The lower date of the *Manusmṛti* has thus been fixed on the basis of three works the *Nārada* and the *Bṛhaspati Smṛtis* and the commentary of *Medhātithi*. The date of the two Smṛtis has been determined by Bühler (as also by Jolly) on the use of the word 'Dīnāra' (pp. 17-20) which indicates that it is 'considerably later than the beginning of our era' as it is 'An Indian coin struck in imitation of and called after the Roman *denarii*'.⁵⁶ This, however, appears to be wrong as according to Sanskrit writers *Dīnāra* is a Sanskrit word formed of *Dīna* (Poor) and *ar* (to

53 Intro. *Manu*. p. 22.

54 *Ibid.* p. 105.

55 *Ibid.* p. 107.

56 *Ibid.* p. 17.

give) i.e. that which is given to the poor. Apart from it both *Nārada* and *Bṛhaspati* have used it as a synonym of the coin *suvarṇa*⁵⁷ e.g. *Nārada* says "Twelve of the latter (*Dhānaka*) are a *Suvarṇa*, which is called *Dīnāra* otherwise," and the coin *Suvarṇa* is mentioned by *Manu* (VIII. 134), *Yāj* (I. 363), *Viṣṇu* (III.9) and *Kauṭilya* (III. 19.4). Other references are also given by Kane⁵⁸ and they altogether prove that *Dīnāra* is an Indian coin and not a foreign one and may have been taken from India e.g. the statement of Bhavasyāmin that in one part of this country *Kāṛṣāpaṇas* were current and in the other part *dīnāras*. Therefore the date of *Nārada* and *Bṛhaspati Smṛtis* is conjectural. With regard to other arguments for the dates of these two Smṛtis, Jolly may be quoted "The probable date of the code of Manu may be turned to account for determining the date of the *Nārada Smṛti*, just as the presumable date of the latter work has been used for fixing the chronological position of Manu".⁵⁹ This is arguing in a circle and much of dates of Ancient Sanskrit works have been fixed on such grounds. The date of *Medhātithi* has been considered by Bühler and Kane as belonging to the 9th Cent. on such basis. *Medhātithi* is said to be earlier than *Vijñāneśvara* (10th Cent.) and later than *Yājñavalkya*, *Nārada*, *Parāśara* and *Viṣṇu*.⁶⁰ Kane also gives a similar argument. "As *Medhātithi* names Asahāya and Kumārila and most probably quotes the views of Śāṅkarācārya, he is later than 820 A.D. As Mit-looked upon him as an authoritative writer, he must be earlier than 1050 A.D.,"⁶¹ etc. Thus the determination of *Manusmṛti*'s lower date on the ground of his being earlier than *Nārada*, *Bṛhaspati* and *Medhātithi* is a part of that circuitous argument.

Concerning the Smṛti's higher limit Bühler's main ground is a *śloka* in the *Manusmṛti* which mentions Yavanas, Kāmbojas and Śakas. "In consequence of the omission of the sacred rites, and of not consulting brāhmaṇas, the following tribes of kṣatriyas have gradually sunk in this world to the condition of śūdras the Paundrakas, the Colas, the Dravidas, the Kāmbojas, the Yavanas, the Śakas, the Pāradas, the Pahlavas, the Cīnas, the Kirātas, and the Daradas." (X.43). Bühler concludes from this that as the Yavanas are named together with the Kāmbojas or Kābulis exactly in the same manner as in the edicts of Aśoka, it is highly probable that Greek subjects of Alexander's successors, and especially the Bactrian Greeks are meant. This point as well as the mention of the Śakas or Scythians would indicate that the *śloka* in no case could have been written before the third cent. B.C. As the mention of these two races occurs also in the *Mahā-*

57 Jolly's tr. pp. 232, 317 respectively.

58 Vol. I. pp. 379-80.

59 Intro. *Nārada* p. 16.

60 Intro. *Manu* pp. 121-122.

61 *His. of Dh. S.* Vol. I. p. 583.

bhārata,⁶² Bühler fixes "the remoter limit of the work about the beginning of the second cent. A.D. or somewhat earlier", though actually he concluded that "it (i.e. the *Smṛti*) certainly existed in the second cent. A.D. and seems to have been composed between that date and the second century B.C."⁶³ The above argument of Bühler presupposes that the Indians could not have known the Śakas or Yavanas till these latter tribes invaded India, and that the contact of Indians with the through trade or otherwise could not have existed earlier. He may also quote Kane here with respect to this matter "If Bühler believes that the Indian borrowed their alphabet centuries before Alexander from the neighbours of the Greeks, why it is improbable that the Indians may not have heard of the word Yavana centuries before Alexander and why Yavanas may not have resided in India long before that date".⁶⁴ Similar can be the case with Śakas. Bühler equates Kāmbojas with Kābulis (now neighbours of India). Therefore the mention of these three races in the *Manusmṛti* cannot have much importance with respect to its dating. Thus it is difficult to accept the dates of the *Manusmṛti* as stated by Bühler and the chronological position of the *Smṛti* shall have to be reviewed.

So much for the negative arguments that disprove the existence of any Dharmasūtra or any other work from which the *Manusmṛti* is derived and that it contains earlier and later strata.

Now we come to some positive arguments. The first such ground is the tradition and this tradition, which is centuries earlier and far nearer to the Ancient Indian works can more be relied on, than all the conjectures of Max Müller, Bühler and Hopkins in the 19th cent. This tradition, inspite of all minor differences, accepts the present *Manusmṛti* (as a discourse of Bhṛgu) to be the earliest of the available Dharmaśāstras.

In the tradition first comes Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, who is referred to as an authority even by Max Müller on twenty-nine pages in his "*History of Ancient Sanskrit Lit.*" and whom Kane calls "a most learned and profound student of the various branches of Sanskrit Literature, who places Manu at the head of all *Smṛtis*, even higher than the *Dharmasūtra* of Gautama. He cites numerous quotations from the first chapter of the *Manusmṛti* to the last. He looks upon all parts of the *Manusmṛti* as equally authoritative".⁶⁵ Not only Kumārila, the *Nārada Smṛti* also speaks of *Dharmaśāstra* of one lakh ślokas composed by Manu, which was successively abridged by Nārada, Bhāradwāja and finally to a work of 4000 ślokas by Sumati Bhārgava (probably the present *Smṛti*).

62 XIII. 33. 21. 23, XIII. 35. 17-18.

63 Intro. *Manu*. p. 117.

64 *His. of Dh.S.* Vol. I p. 36.

65 *His. of Dh.S.* Vol. I, p. 227.

Medhātithi also refers to this statement of *Nārada*, though he calls the original work as that of *Prajāpati* and that its first abridgement was by *Manu*. The *Skanda Purāṇa* refers to four versions of the code of *Manu*—by *Bṛghu*, *Nārada*, *Bṛhaspati* and *Aṅgiras*.⁶⁶ Again, “in a colophon of the Ancient Nepalese Ms. of the *Nārada Smṛti*, that work is designated as the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* in the recension of *Nārada* (*Mānava Dharmaśāstre : ārada proktāyāṃ saṃhitāyāṃ*), just the code of *Manu* in the colophons is usually called the *Mānava dharmaśāstra* in the recension of *Bṛghu* (*Mānava dharmaśāstre Bṛghu proktāyāṃ saṃhitāyāṃ* or *Mānava dharmaśāstre Bṛghu prokte*).⁶⁷ The priority of the *Manusmṛti* is also indicated by *Medhātithi* and *Kullūka* in their commentaries of *Manu* I. 1. *Medhātithi* quotes a verse without naming its author which says that the mantras of *Rg*, *Yajur*, *Sāma* and *Atharvan Vedas* were declared by *Ṛṣis* whereas the *Smṛti* by *Manu*. *Kullūka* in one passage quoted as *Bṛhaspati*’s places *Manu*’s *śāstra* at the head of the works of that class. According to *Bṛhaspati* “The *Manusmṛti* is preeminent because it properly puts forth the sense of the *Veda* and a *Smṛti* which is contrary to it is not esteemed”. “In the *Nirukta* there is discussion about the rights of sons and daughters. One of the views there propounded is that children of both sexes take their father’s wealth and a *Ṛk* (Mantra) and *śloka* are cited in support of it. The *śloka* refers to the opinion of *Manu* *Svāyambhava* probably *Manu*. It is noteworthy that the *śloka* is opposed to a *Ṛk*, which means that the *śloka* is not *Śruti* but is *Smṛti*. So before *Yāska* wrote there were *Smṛti* texts in verse in which *Manu*, was spoken of a law-giver”.⁶⁸ In the various lists of *Smṛtise* e.g. as given by *Yājñavalkya*, *Smṛticandrikā*, *caturvargacintāmaṇi*, *Prayogapārijāta*, *Valjayanī*, *Aparārka*, whatever be the order of other *Smṛtikāras*, *Manu* is ordinarily placed at the head of the list, even before the writers of *Dharmasūtras*. That versified *Smṛti* existed before *Dharmasūtras* has also been, though not very forcefully, accepted by *Kane*. “One of the earlier extant *Dharmasūtras* that of *Baudhāyana* contains passages in *śloka* metre, many of which are quotations and even *Āpastamba* has a considerable number of verses in the *śloka* metre (Ibid p. 15). This renders it highly probable that works in the *śloka* metre existed before them”. *Bühler* also admits as has been stated earlier that works in *śloka* existed before 2nd cent B.C. “It seems no longer advisable to limit the production of *sūtras* to so short and so late a period is 600-200 B.C. and the existence of metrical school manuals at a much earlier date has been clearly demonstrated”. It is now evident that the use of the heroic metre for such works did not begin all of a sudden and at a certain given date”.⁶⁹ Thus the existence of the *Manu-*

66 Jolly, Intro. *Bṛhaspati* p. 274.

67 Jolly, Intro. *Nārada* p. 12.

68 *His. of Dh. S.* Vol. I, p. 308.

69 Intro. to *Manu* p. 22.

smṛti could have been much earlier, and as both Kane and Bühler show, even before the *Dharmasūtras*, though the latter may be connected with Vedic *Sūtracaranas*.

It shall be useful in this connection to examine the position of the different *Dharmasūtras* in relation to the *Manusmṛti*. In this connection we shall begin with the *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra*. It is generally admitted that the *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra* is later than the *Manusmṛti*. Only Jolly, in his Introduction to the translation of the *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra*⁷⁰ considers it earlier to the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*⁷¹ and also to some extent the *Manusmṛti* and of Baudhāyana and Vasiṣṭha as having borrowed from an older recension of *Viṣṇu*.⁷² He also thinks it to be a recast of the *Kāthaka Dharmasūtra*⁷³ and in this matter both Bühler⁷⁴ and Kane⁷⁵ express their agreement with Jolly. In spite of it Kane has his own differences with Jolly. Whereas Jolly says that some chapters of *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* agree with *Kāthakagrhya*⁷⁶ Kane expresses his dissent. "All that is meant is that some of the *sūtras* of *Viṣṇu* are the same or almost the same as those of the *Kāthakagrhya*. But in all these places *Viṣṇu* contains more details than the *Kāthakagrhya*. It may be noted that in a few cases the views of *Kāthakagrhya* differ from those of *Viṣṇu*".⁷⁷ Though Kane considers some chapters of *Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra* as old i.e. chs. 3, 5, 15, 16, 21, 22, it was difficult for me to find any reason how these chapters could be differentiated from others. Yet with all this Kane feels that the present *Viṣṇu* has several verses similar to *Manu*, *Yājñavalkya* and *Bhagvad-gītā*⁷⁸ and concludes that *Viṣṇu* borrows from them. Bühler also, though he agrees that some verses of the 28th chapter of *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra* agree with two chapters of *Viṣṇu*, is not prepared to accept the posteriority of *Vasiṣṭha* to *Viṣṇu*⁷⁹ and thinks that the *Viṣṇu Dh. S.* cannot be older than the fifth or sixth cent A.D.⁸⁰ Jolly also, though he is hesitant to admit the priority of the *Manusmṛti* to the *Viṣṇu Dh. S.*⁸¹ admits not only that in "a number of śloka's *Manu*'s

70 See Vol. VII.

71 *Ibid* pp. 20-22.

72 *Ibid* pp. 19-20.

73 pp. 10-16.

74 Intro. *Manu* 21.

75 *His. of Dh. S.* Vol. I p. 124

76 *Ibid* p. 12.

77 *Ibid.* p. 125.

78 *Ibid.* pp. 116-118.

79 *Vasiṣṭha Dh. S.* pp. 21-23.

80 Intro. *Manu* p. 222.

81 Intro. *Viṣṇu* pp. 23-25.

readings are decidedly older and better than *Viṣṇu's*⁸² and that in many cases *Viṣṇu's* rules have a less archaic character than the corresponding precepts of *Manu*.⁸³ After considering all aspects he fixes the date of the present *Viṣṇu Dh. S.*⁸⁴ between third or fourth century A.D. and eleventh century A.D. i.e. later than the present *Manusmṛti*.

While considering the *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra*, we find that Bühler holds mainly on the basis of *Vas. (IV. 5-8)* which refers to offering of meat to guests at a *madhuparka* and consists of a *sūtra*, two *ślokas* and a Vedic passage that it is taken from a *Mānava Dharmasūtra*. "Secondly, the great differences between several other passages quoted by *Vasiṣṭha* as *Manu's* and the corresponding passages of our *Manusmṛti* as well as the fact that the latter, as we have seen, refers to the *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra*, do not permit us to assume, that *Vasiṣṭha* knew and referred to our *Manu*. It is thus necessary to assume that *Vasiṣṭha's* quotation is taken from a *Mānava Dharmasūtra*".⁸⁵ Again while referring to some *ślokas* quoted as *Manu's* by *Vasiṣṭha* but not found in *Manu*, Bühler holds that they are taken not even from the *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra* but that these doctrines go back as sayings of the mythical *Manu*, the founder of the social and moral order. Kane denies the existence of a *Mānava Dharmasūtra* and therefore does not accept that *Vas. IV. 5-8* is a quotation from that *Dharma-sūtra*.⁸⁶ Rather he thinks that "the fifth *sūtra* summarises the views of the *Manusmṛti* to be gathered from *Manu V. 41* and *48*. The word 'Mānavam' stands for the *Manusmṛti* just as it does in the *Tantravārtika* and *Viśvarūpa*. Then the two verses of *Manu (V. 41-48)* are quoted. In the eighth *sūtra* a *Brāhmaṇa* passage is cited".⁸⁷ With regard to the second point we have already quoted Kane above (p. 4-5 above) that there are only two verses in *Vasiṣṭha (XII 16; XIX. 73)* where the name of *Manu* occurs but corresponding verses are not found in the *Manusmṛti*. "Besides these two that are not found in our *Manu* there are about forty verses which, though not strictly identical are more or less similar".⁸⁸ However, I find that there are not only 40 but about 90 similar verses (*ślokas*) and passages in *Manusmṛti* and *Vasiṣṭha*. Thus even the *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra* is later than the *Manusmṛti*. We have already shown that even the existence of an earlier versified *Manusmṛti* is merely hypothetical.

82 *Ibid.* p. 22.

83 *Ibid.* p. 24.

84 *Ibid.* p. 32.

85 Intro. *Manu* p. 32.

86 *His. of Dh. S. Vol. I, pp. 143-9.*

87 *Ibid.* p. 146.

88 *Ibid.* p. 103.

Similar is the case with *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*. In that *Dharmasūtra* about 60 verses, more or less the same, as in the extant *Manusmṛti*, are to be found. Ten of these verses are introduced by the words, "Now they quote". They are *Manu* II. 63 = *Baud.* I. 8.3; *Manu* III. 114-115 = *Baud.* II. 13. 5. (b. c. d.); *Manu* IV. 114 = *Baud.* I. 21.22; *Manu* VI 34 = *Baud.* II. 17.16; *Manu* IX. 3 = *Baud.* II. 3.45; *Manu* IX. 140 = *Baud.* II. 3.16; *Manu* IX. 159-66 = *Baud.* II. 3.31.32; *Manu* XI. 176 = *Baud.* 4.14; *Manu* XII. 111 = *Baud.* II. 1.8. Besides some of the verses properly placed in the *Manusmṛti* are not so properly placed in the *Baud. Dharmasūtra* e.g. *Manu* II. 157 = *Baud.* I. 1.10; *Manu* III. 125-26 = *Baud.* II. 15.10.11; *Manu* IV. 58 = *Baud.* II. 6.38; *Manu* IX. 81 = *Baud.* II. 4.6.. Thirdly, two opinions are quoted as *Manu*'s by *Baudhāyana* in IV. 1.14 and IV. 2.16. About the second Kane says it is similar to *Manu* XI. 261, while about the first one where *Baud* says that a daughter should be married early and that every menses of a girl causes sin to her father, a similar opinion is found in *Manu* (IX. 4), where *Manu* says that if a father does not marry a daughter in her proper season he is reprehensible. These opinions of *Manu* are given by *Baud.* in the 4th Book (*prāśna*), which is called not authentic by both *Bühler* and *Kane*. Still *Kane* as against this, says that as quotations from *Baudhāyana*'s fourth Book are found in *Viśvarūpa*'s commentary on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* (a very ancient commentator). Therefore, "Even if the fourth *prāśna* be an interpolation it is comparatively an ancient one".⁸⁹ Lastly, most of the verses common in *Manu* and *Baudhāyana* are found in *Prāśnas* (Books) I and II of the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* (nearly 26 and 24 respectively out of which only about 5 *ślokas* are similar but not almost the same). These two *prāśnas* are not considered as interpolations by *Bühler* except mainly some prose quotations which are introduced by the words *athāpi udāharanti* 'now they quote also' and the *Khaṇḍikās* on *Tarpaṇa* which are 'much enlarged by additions' and these 50 *ślokas* do not come in either of these categories. Why these facts about the relationship of the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* and the *Manusmṛti* have not been mentioned by any scholar, is difficult to say. It may be because it may go against their theory about the respective position of the two works. On the above grounds it looks that the verses of *Manu* in *Baudhāyana* are quotations from the *Manusmṛti*.

In the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* though *Āpastamba* nowhere speaks of *Manu*'s as *Baudhāyana*, *Gautama* and *Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtras* do, yet there are at least three verses nearly the same viz. *Āpastamba* 1.9.13 (two *ślokas*) and 1.19.15 which are similar to *Manu* IV. 248-9 and VIII. 317. The last verse is introduced as "Now they quote" and others are called quotations though from

⁸⁹ *His. of Dh. S.* Vol I p. 47.

a Purāṇa, according to *Āpastamba*. Yet they are among the available books only found in *Manu*. The reference about a Purāṇa may not be correct. Kane has already been quoted above (in connection with verses quoted as *Manu*'s but not found there) that Ancient Indian authors are "quoting from memory", because of which verses or *sūtras* of one treatise are quoted as from another book. At another place a statement introduced by the words 'Now They quote' (II.17-78 is similar to *Manu* (III. 141). Similarly about II. 21.10 (repeated in II. 21.20) though it is a *sūtra* not a verse, *Āpastamba* admits that it has been prescribed (or instructed) by someone" (तस्योपदिशन्ति). This rule about *saṃnyāsīs* is found in *Manu* (VI. 43). The first words of *Āpastamba* are exactly the same as *Manu* अननिरनिकेतस्स्यात्. *Manu* adds (also stated by *Āpastamba*) that he should resort to a village only for the sake of food (अन्नार्थं in *Manu* and प्राणवृत्ति प्रतिलभ्य in *Āpastamba*). *Manu* also wants the *saṃnyāsīs* to be उपेक्षक (indifferent). *Manu*'s commentators have two explanations for this (1) that he should not take any measures to combat diseases, or (2) that he should abandon even those means of physical happiness which are available to him. What *Āpastamba*, however says seems to be a third explanation i.e., that "(he) should go about remaining indifferent to (the happiness of) this world and the next." The भावसमाहित (keeping concentration of mind) of *Manu* seems to be somewhat similar to उरसुजमानो वाचः (remaining silent) of *Āpastamba*. Thus this rule, which, as *Āpastamba* says, has been prescribed by someone seems to have been taken from *Manu*. Apart from the above passage there is one verse which occurs in *Āpastamba* between I.19.13 and I.19.15. (both of which, as has been said above are quotations according to *Āpastamba*). In this verse the first *pāda* (14th of the *śloka*) is the same as *Manu* (IV. 212), as also nearly the third *pāda* (*Manu* IV. 211). As this verse occurs between the above-named two quotations of *Manu* there is a likely presumption that the first and the third have been taken from *Manu* and other changes have been made by *Āpastamba*, the fourth *pāda* being a consequential change i.e. that "the food of the persons stated before is not to be eaten" among whom are included a physician, a hunter, an unchaste woman and a hermaphrodite both in *Manu* and *Āpastamba*. Then, there are two verses which occur together (II. 134-5) in *Manu* and form part of the rules of seniority (II. 134-7), which follow rules of salutation (till II. 133). The second is *Āpastamba* I. 14.25 with slight verbal differences but with the same meaning. The first verse is different in the two books mainly at two places. Let them be quoted. In *Manu* (II. 134) it is

दशवर्षं पौरसक्यं पञ्चवर्षं कलामृताम् ।

अथर्वपुत्रं श्रोत्रियाणां स्वल्पेनापि स्वयोन्यु ॥

while in *Āpastamba* (I. 14.13) it is

दशवर्षं पौरसक्यं पञ्चवर्षं तु चारणम् ।

त्रिवर्षपूर्वः श्रोत्रियोऽसिवादनमर्हति ॥

The differences do not seem to be very major for instead of कलाभृताश्च (artists) in *Manu*, it is चारणम् (students of the same school) in *Āpastamba*. In the last part *Āpas.* has अभिवादनमर्हति (needs be saluted), and though *Manu* in this part speaks about this rule with reference to blood-relations (स्वयोनिषु), the commentators of the *Smṛti*, however connect this rule to salutation also. The verse can be interpreted in two ways. It can either mean (only first part translated as illustration) "that friendship among citizens is said to be within (a difference of) ten years (of age)" and that as *Manu*'s commentators say, if the difference in age is more the elder is to be saluted. Or, it can mean "friendship among citizens is said to be after (a cohabitation of) ten years." *Medhātithi* (*Manu*'s commentator) gives both these interpretations but rejects the latter one. Whatever interpretation be correct, because of the similarity of verse in both works, they should be interpreted at both places in the same way. Yet, *Manu*'s verse appears more coherent, and secondly, both verses in *Manu* occur in a proper context together (rules of seniority). On the other hand, on a perusal of *Āpastamba*, the two verses placed at different places do not fit in those places so much. Therefore, the likelihood is that they are originally *Manusmṛti*'s. There is some similarity in another verse in *Manu* (XI. 178) and *Āpastamba* (I. 27.11). In *Manu* it is

यत्करोत्येकरात्रेण वृषलीसेवनाद्विजः ।

तद्वैश्यभुग्जपन्नित्यं त्रिभिर्वैष्यैर्व्यपोहति ॥

while *Āpas.* has

यदेकरात्रेण करोति पापं कृष्णं वर्णं ब्राह्मणस्सेवमानः ।

चतुर्थकाल उदकाभ्यवापी त्रिभिर्वैष्यैस्तदपहन्ति पापम् ॥

The same verse as that of *Āpas.* is also found in *Baudhāyana* (II, 1.69). The one major difference between *Manu* and the other two is that the penance prescribed is different probably also because the sin pointed out (having relations with a *śūdrā* woman in *Manu* and serving a *śūdra*, according to *Āpastamba*) is different. But *Manu*'s rule is more reasonable for a sin in night can more properly be connected with sexual relationship while serving a person is more suited to day time, as compared to night. So here also the borrowing of words (not of the rule) seems to be from *Manu*. Apart from these verses (including one *sūtra*) in which there seems to be borrowing by *Āpastamba* there are a number of *sūtras* (e.g. *Āpas.* I. 1.19.27=*Manu* II. 36-38; *Āpas.* I. 25.4=*Manu* VIII. 314-15; *Āpas.* I. 31.20=*Manu* IV. 37a, *Āpas.* II. 4.14=*Manu* III. 101) where there is a close similarity of language between *Manu* and *Āpastamba*, but in these cases it is difficult to point out why either the one or the other can be the borrower. However, as in above discussed instances *Āpastamba* appears to be the borrower it can also be so in the matter of these *sūtras*. Kane and Jolly speak of the similarity of language of the *sūtras* of *Vasiṣṭha* and *Viṣṇu Dharma-*

sūtra respectively with the *ślokas* of the *Manusmṛti*. Kane says, "There are several prose *sūtras* of Vas. which correspond to verses of *Manu* almost word for word".⁹⁰ According to Jolly, "Of *ślokas* alone Viṣṇu has upward of 160 in common with *Manu* and in a far greater number of cases still his *sūtras* agree nearly word for word with the corresponding rules of *Manu*".⁹¹ If *sūtras* could have taken from verses of the *Manusmṛti* by Viṣṇu and Vasiṣṭha, it could happen so in the case of *Āpastamba* and *Gautama* also nearly the same as *Manu* III 125; *Āpastamba* II, 4.14 and I. 27. II have words quite similar to *Manu* III, 101, and *Manu* XI.178. While the first rule about the *annyāsīs* (ascetics) given by *Āpastamba* (II. 21.10) is mainly *Manu* VI. 43 with the first part literally borrowed from *Manu*. All this, mainly the verses which *Āpastamba* calls quotations sufficiently demonstrate that even *Āpastamba* borrows from, and therefore, is likely to be later than *Manu*. One other fact to be noted in connection with *Āpastamba* is that Bühler conclusively proves that *Āpastamba*⁹² belonged to the southern part of this country, on the basis of a commentary of *Caranavyūha*, on the ground that *Āpastambīya brāhmaṇas* hail from the south and that it is in the landgrants of the south that *Āpastambīyas* are mentioned, and finally, on the basis of a *sūtra* in *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* (II. 17.17) which refers to a practice prevalent in the North. Bühler also accepts that the *Aryan* civilisation spread in the South later than in the North and that, though the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* mentions Andhras, they are considered there as one of the degraded and barbarous tribes. The *Manusmṛti*, on the other hand, speaks only of the *Āryāvarta* i.e. the land between the Himalayas and the Vindhya as the land fit for performing sacrifices and calls the territory beyond it as the *mleccha* country and that the twice born must live here (i.e. in *Āryāvarta*) though the *śūdras*, if bereft of livelihood, may stay anywhere (II. 21-24, see also 17-20). This it does in a passage which even Bühler does not consider to be spurious. *Manu* also speaks of Draviḍas, but together with Yavanas, Śakas, Pallavas, Cīnas etc. as degraded tribes as the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* does. Lastly, though it is true that the language of *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, is archaic as compared to that of the *Manusmṛti*, but if the *Gautama Dharmasūtra* with its language close to Pāṇini can be considered earlier to *Āpastamba* by both Bühler⁹³ and Kane⁹⁴ as also by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa who 'starts with *Gautama* first in enumerating the *Dharmasūtras*,⁹⁵ why could not the *Manusmṛti*, even without much archaic language, be earlier to *Āpastamba*, as the above two arguments have demonstrated.

90 *His. of Dh. S.* Vol. I. p. 103.

91 *Intro Visnu* p. 22.

92 *Intro. Apas.* pp. 33-37.

93 *Intro. Gaut.* p. 59.

94 *His. of Dh. S.* Vol. I. pp. 34-36.

95 *Ibid.* p. 25.

The *Gautama Dharmasūtra* is purely in prose (aphorisms or *Sūtras*). At one place (XXI. 7) *Gautama* refers to *Manu* where he says "Manu (declares) that the first three crimes (intentional murder of a *brāhmaṇa*, drinking wine and violation of a *guru*'s bed) cannot be expiated". *Manu* says the same with regard to the first two (XI. 90 and 147) and regarding the last *Manusmṛti* prescribes penances (XI. 104-5) which result in death. On the other hand, *Manu* quotes an opinion (III. 16) not directly as *Gautama*'s but as that of the son of Utathya, which is interpreted as *Gautama*'s by most commentators except Medhātithi and Rāmacandra, the latter calling it as that of Dīrghatamas and the former does not say that it is *Gautama*'s. Therefore it becomes doubtful whether it is *Gautama*'s. Again, though *Gautama* is in prose, I find at several places opinions in the same words as *Manu*'s. I give examples from chapter II to IV of the *Manusmṛti*. Thus, *Manu* II. 6 = *Gaut.* I. 1-2; *Manu* II. 130 = *Gaut.* VI. 9; *Manu* II. 134 = *Gaut.* VI. 15-17; *Manu* II. 138-9 = *Gaut.* VI. 24-25; *Manu* II. 172 = *Gaut.* II. 4-5; *Manu* II. 177-8 = *Gaut.* II. 13; *Manu* II. 179 = *Gaut.* II. 13, 16, 17; *Manu* II. 184 = *Gaut.* II. 37-8; *Manu* III. 32 = *Gaut.* IV. 10; *Manu* III. 101 = *Gaut.* V. 35-6; *Manu* III. 119 = *Gaut.* V. 27-8; *Manu* III. 185 = *Gaut.* XV. 28; *Manu* III. 267, 271, 272 = *Gaut.* XV. 15; *Manu* IV. 34b = *Gaut.* IX. 3; *Manu* IV. 66 = *Gaut.* XI. 4-5; *Manu* IV. 95 = *Gaut.* XVI. 1-2; *Manu* IV. 102a = *Gaut.* XXI. 22; *Manu* IV. 175 = *Gaut.* IX. 50, 68-71; *Manu* IV. 207 = *Gaut.* XVII. 9-10; *Manu* IV. 208a = *Gaut.* XVII. II and *Manu* IV. 251 = *Gaut.* XVII. 4. In other chapters the same similarity is visible e.g. *Manu* IX. 14 = *Gaut.* XVIII. 26-27. These similarities together with the fact that *Gautama* refers to *Manu*, while *Manu* does not directly refer to *Gautama* and two commentators doubt the identity of this reference as *Gautama*'s raises strong presumptions that *Gautama* may be the borrower. Bühler has, however given three examples (Intro. *Manu* p. XXV) to show how the opinion of 'some' in *Manu* refers to *Gautama*. We are quoting Bühler in connection with these three examples. (1) "It is stated (ch. IX. 61), just as in *Gautama*'s *Dharmasūtra* (XVIII. 8) that 'some' permit the procreation of a second son with an appointed widow". (2) "We are told (*Manu* XI. 45) that the sages i.e. all sages, are convinced of the efficacy of penances for atoning intentional offences, while 'some' declare that they even destroy the guilt of him who sinned intentionally. The latter point is discussed in exactly the same manner in *Gautama* XIX. 36". (3) "Thus we read *Manu* II. 145, that the teacher is less venerable than the father and mother while, the next following verses teach exactly the contrary doctrine. . . . If we turn to *Gautama* II. 50-51, where it is said "The teacher is the chief among all *gurus*, some say that the mother (holds the first place)". In the first two instances Bühler does not seem to be correct. In the first matter spoken of though *Manu* is rightly quoted, but, according to Haradatta (*Gautama*'s commentator) what *Gautama* says is, "After having obtained one

son, (let) not a second (be born)". This explanation (*Gautama's sūtra* न अति द्वितीयम् explained by Haradatta as प्रथमं अपरं अतीत्य न द्वितीयं जनयेत् इति) is in accordance with *Manu* (IX. 60), *Yāj.* (I. 69), *Nārada* (XII. 81) and to some extent *Baudhāyana* (II. 4-9-10). Bühler, on the other hand, translates it as "She shall not (bear) more than two (sons)" on the basis of *Manu* IX. 61.⁹⁶ To clarify the matter *Manu's* verses (IX. 60-61) may be given here. "He (who is) appointed to (cohabit with) the widow shall (approach her) at night anointed with clarified butter and silent (and) beget one son, (though) by no means a second. Some who are conversant with it (i.e. rules of *Niyoga* or emergency) accept the birth of a second (son) in the woman (for whom an appointment is made) considering that the purpose of their (i.e. man's and woman's) appointment is not fulfilled (by one son) according to *dharma*." (Translation of the second verse on the basis of commentaries)". Now considering everything, Haradatta's explanation seems to be more correct, but even if Bühler's translation be accepted it is not just as in *Manu* IX. 61, because *Manu* gives the reason why others accept a second son, though *Gautama's sūtra* does not state any reasons even if he is considered to have accepted a second son. This is an added reason why Bühler's translation cannot be accepted, because if *Gautama* would have given a rule which was not generally accepted in Ancient India he must have surely given his reasons, even if in brief, for doing so. In the second case while *Manu* speaks of unintentional and intentional offences *Gautama* does not distinguish between these two kinds and discusses the efficacy of *prāyaścittas* in general. While *Manu* says, "The learned speak of penances for a sin unintentionally committed, some on the evidence of scriptural authority says (that it may be performed) even for an intentional (sin)", according to *Gautama* "(They) examine whether *prāyaścitta* (penance) should be performed or not, (some) say that it should not be performed. The deed does not perish. Others (say) it should be performed". So what *Gautama* says is not 'exactly in the same manner' as in *Manu*, as Bühler says. In the third case, of course, both *Manu* and *Gautama* speak of the superiority of the mother and the teacher as two alternatives, but whereas *Gautama* is very brief (cf. *Gautama's* quotation above given by Bühler), *Manu* is much more detailed as to how and why the mother and the teacher respectively are more superior. According to *Manu* the mother is superior (II. 145) because the child is born of the womb of the mother (II. 147) which means that for the worldly existence of the child the father and the mother are responsible, but that there is a second birth in Veda (*brahmajanma* II. 146) and as this birth is external both in this world and the next (II. 146, 148) and as the physical birth is due the mutual passion (sexual desire) of the man and the woman i.e. is of a lower order, the teacher is superior

⁹⁶ see Bühler's f.n. to translation of *Gautama's sūtra* XIX. 36.

to the father (II. 146-47) as also the mother. *Manu* also does not speak of the opinion of 'some' here, rather it is *Gautama* who does so. Therefore, it looks as if *Gautama* first gives the final conclusion of *Manu* and later gives the other opinion as the opinion of 'some' and not the other way round. So in all the three matters, to say that *Manu* has referred to *Gautama* does not appear to be correct.

All these grounds make it possible that the *Manusmṛti* may be earlier to the Dharmasūtras. Kumārila as we have noted speaks of *Manu* even before *Gautama*.⁹⁷ We have already discussed that the Indian tradition regards the *Manusmṛti* in the *Bhārgavīya* recension as the first work on *dharma*.

Apart from it, as we have shown earlier in connection with the tradition on *Manusmṛti*, both Kane and Bühler accept that works in verse on *dharma* existed before the Dharmasūtras. Thus even though the Dharmasūtras are connected with Vedic *Sūtra Caranas*, versified works on *Dharma* e.g. The *Manusmṛti* could have existed before Dharmasūtras. Even Bühler speaks of this tradition when he speaks of "the Brahmanical legend (which he thinks has been disposed of by Max Müller) according to which Hindu Society was supposed to be governed by the codes of Ancient sages "⁹⁸ and though he says this regarding the codes, he mainly means the *Manusmṛti* because here he quotes a letter of Max Müller which only speaks of the *Manusmṛti* and of no other codes of the *Rṣis* and who tries to prove that *Manusmṛti* is not the earliest book on *Dharma*. Max Müller first tried to give a late date to the Vedas and thereafter the *Manusmṛti*, which he tried to prove as late as possible (as we have shown above 4th cent. A.D.) Bühler is ordinarily a follower of Max Müller in his theory that the *Manusmṛti*, as also all *Smṛtis*, are later than the Dharmasūtras and of the *Manusmṛti* being a recast of a conjectural *Mānava Dharmasūtra*. Thus to rely on Max Müller's and following him Bühler's arguments, and to think of *Manusmṛti* as a very late work on the basis of their arguments only, without critically examining them would be unwarranted. I have tried to do so and after examining the other side's arguments, am modestly placing my conclusions before the esteemed readers. I have not been able to accept that the *Manusmṛti* is a very late work, but if my opinion is convincingly proved wrong, not on the ground of prior assumptions of the arguments given by these scholars, I shall be happy to accept the incorrectness of my opinion. However, in the case of the *Manusmṛti*, as in that of various other Ancient Indian books, it is not possible to fix a definite date of their composition, and such attempts, to say the least, seem to be hypothetical and misdirected. The present writer, therefore, does not speak of such a date for the *Manusmṛti*.

97 Kane, *His. of Dh. S.* Vol. I, p. 382.

98 Intro. to *Āpastamba* p. 9.

ADDITION TO THE PULASTYASMRTISANGRAHA *

By

M. L. WADEKAR ‡

The Reconstruction of Lost *Smṛti*-texts on the basis of quotations, found in the digests and commentaries on *Dharmaśāstra* has been a long-felt desideratum. Recently, Prof. Smt. Krishna Kanti Gopal and Prof. Lallanji Gopal reconstructed the text of Pulastya and presented it in the form of a monograph entitled "*Pulastyasmṛtisāṅgraha*" (Pub. by Rishi Publications, 79, Chandrika Colony, Varanasi-221 010, 1992, price: Rs. 195-00). I have had the opportunity to review this book, in the Journal of the Oriental Institute (JOI Vol. 40 Nos. 3-4, March-June 1991, pp. 337-340). Some points, not covered in the said review, especially relating to additional verses, not included in the above book are specifically treated in this paper. The authors might have tried to be as exhaustive as possible in their attempt. However some verses, collected by me are not found in their book. Hence in this paper, the quotations/verses, not found in the collection of the authors, are collected and presented herewith for the benefit of scholars, with a view to making addition to the *Pulastyasmṛtisāṅgraha*.

Additional Verses

- 1 सन्निहत्यामुपस्पृश्य राहुग्रस्ते दिवाकरे ।
सत्रधर्मप्रविष्टस्य दानकर्मफलैषिणः ॥

—स्मृतिचन्द्रिका आशौचम् P. 78

- 2 दध्यादीनां विकाराणां क्षीरतः संभवो यथा ।
तथैवाशेषकामानां क्षीरस्नापनतो हरेः ॥
- 3 स्नाप्य दध्ना सकृद्विष्णुं निर्मलं प्रियदर्शनम् ।
विष्णुलोकमवाप्नोति सेव्यमानः सुरोत्तमैः ॥
- 4 गवां शतस्य विप्राणां यद्दत्तस्य फलं भवेत् ।
घृतप्रस्थेन तद्विष्णोर्भवेत्स्नानं न संशयः ॥

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‡ Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda.

- 5 पुष्पजातिषु सर्वासु सौवर्णं पुष्पमुत्तमम् ।
 त्रुटिमात्रपदानात् शकार्थासनमाप्नुयात् ॥
 —स्मृतिमुक्ताफलम्, आह्निककाण्डम् P. 387
- 6 एतद्विदित्वा यः संख्यामुपास्ते संशितव्रतः ।
 दीर्घमायुः स विन्देत् सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥
 —पराशरमाधवे (आचारकाण्डम्) अ. 1 कां. 1 P. 302
- 7 न ते शिष्या न ते पुत्रास्तर्पयन्ति न ते पितृन् ।
 प्रायश्चित्तं न तेष्वस्ति गुर्वतिक्रमकर्तृषु ॥
 —बालम्भट्टी P. 541
- 8 मृतके च नरः स्नात्वा प्रणम्य मनसा हरिम् ।
 एकादश्यां न भुञ्जीत व्रतमेतच्च लुप्यते ॥
 मृतकेऽपि न भुञ्जीत ह्येकादश्यां सदा नरः ॥
 —स्मृतिमुक्ताफलम्—कालखण्डः 5, P. 848
- 9 संप्रवृत्तेऽपि रजसि न त्याज्यं द्वादशीव्रतम् ।
 —हेमाद्रिः, व्रतखण्डः अ. 15 P. 996
- 10 स्त्री(य)मनाथास्तत्काले नासेव्या इति तु पौलस्त्याः ।
 —वीरमित्रोदये व्यवहारः P. 57

In the above mentioned book, namely the *Pulastysmṛtisāṅgraha*, the authors have also collected and presented in the chapter 7, called Appendix, 7 passages from some Dharmaśāstra-works and the *Mahābhārata*, wherein Pulastya is an interlocuter, expounding certain topics like *dāna*, *vrata* and *tīrthayātrā* etc. However, a long passage of 48 verses, found in Hemādri (*Dāna* pp. 318-324) has failed to find a place in their collection.

पुलस्त्य उवाच

- 1 तत्रासीना मुनयः शौनकाद्यां—
 स्ते चारण्ये नैमिषे सत्रयागे ।
 सुखासीनं सूतसूतं तदानीं
 गत्वापृच्छन् यज्ञकर्मावसाने ॥
- 2 उपसन्नः परिपृच्छामहे त्वां
 किं कृत्वासौ पुरुषो वाथ नारी ।
 आयुश्च सर्वं लभतेऽथ रोगै—
 र्विमुच्यते भूतिमुपैति चाभ्याम् ॥
- 3 दुःखप्रणा (णा) शं प्रहसीतिनाश
 दृष्टं तथा त्रिविधे चाद्भुते वा ।
 अथान्यद्वा भयदोषप्रशान्ति—

- मभीष्टसिद्धिं प्रददाति कर्तुः ॥
- 4 दानं व्रतं देवताभ्यर्च्य(र्च)नं वा
किं तत्कृत्वा कृतकृत्यो भवेत्ताः ।
शुश्रूषवस्तव वाक्यं च यत्तु
वदास्माकं सूत दानातिविद्वन् ॥
- 5 इत्येवमुक्तो मुनिमिस्तदानी—
मुग्रश्रवाः प्रत्युवाचाथ तेषाम् ।
शृणुध्वं वः कथयिष्याम्यहं त—
त्त्वेवंभूतं पृथिवीपद्मदानम् ॥
- 6 देवागारे नन्दनद्योस्तु तारे
गृहेऽन्यस्मिन् पुण्यदेशे च कुर्यात् ।
तद्वागे वा नन्दने वाथ कुर्या—
दारामे वा रमते यत्र चेतः ॥
- 7 विप्रं गुरुं वेदगुणदक्षं
संगृह्य वैशानि क्रमादरेण ।
दद्यात्तु तस्मै गुरु(र)वेऽथ वासो
गुगं शुभं काञ्चनभूषणानि ॥
- 8 अलङ्कृतोऽसौ प्रकरोति सर्व—
मृते दानं किञ्चिदिहास्ति कार्यम् ।
गव्येन भूमिं शकृता जलेन
चालेपयेद्विशतिहस्तमात्राम् ॥
- 9 कूटं वर्षातपत्राणां समं प्राक्प्लवमेव वा ।
षोडशारत्नमात्रं तु चतुरस्रं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
- 10 यथेष्टं तत्र कुर्याद्विं स्तम्भांश्च परिकल्पयेत् ।
चतुर्द्वारसमायुक्तं चतुस्तोरणभूषितम् ॥
- 11 दर्भमालापरिवृतं मङ्गलाङ्कुरशोभितम् ।
वितानेनोपरिच्छन्नं शुभेन सितरूपिणा ॥
- 12 परितो लोकपालानां ध्वजाश्च परिकल्पयेत् ।
वज्रैरावेष्टयेत् स्तम्भान् चतुर्दिक्षु विचक्षणः ॥
- 13 लम्बयेत् पुष्पमालाश्च सर्वतः स्तम्भसन्धिषु ।
प्रागुदक्प्रवर्णां भूमिं गोमयेनोपलेपयेत् ॥
- 14 एवं कूटप्रवां चाथ पटं वा परिकल्पयेत् ।
मध्ये व्रीहिमयं शैलं महामेढं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥
- 15 मध्यमं दशभारेण तुरीयांशेन चेतारान् ।
मन्दरं पुरतः कृत्वा दक्षिणे गन्धमादनम् ॥

- 16 विपुलं पश्चिमे शैलं सुपार्श्वं चोत्तरेऽचलम् ।
विष्कम्भपर्वतौ द्वौ तु पूर्वपश्चिमभागयोः ॥
- 17 परितश्चान्तरे वर्षपर्वताः समुदाहृताः ॥
- 18 जम्बुप्लक्षाह्वयो द्वीपौ शात्मलश्च तथापरः ।
कुशं कौश्वश्च शाकश्च पुष्करं चैव सप्तमम् ॥
- 19 लवणेश्वसुरासर्पिर्दधिदुग्धजलैः समम् ।
एवं द्वीपाः समुद्रैश्च सप्त सप्तभिरावृताः ॥
- 20 एवं ब्रीहिमयान् शैलान् पत्रिणः कारयेत्तथा ।
भारार्धेनाथवा शैलानितरान् परिकल्पयेत् ॥
- 21 संवेष्ट्य सर्वान् वासोभिः सर्वानेव महोदधीन् ।
चतुरश्रचतुरः पात्रान् तत्तद्द्रव्येण संविशेत् ॥
- 22 मन्दारं पारिजातं च सन्तानं हरिचन्दनम् ।
मेरोरुपरि सौवर्णान् चतुर्दिक्षु निवेशयेत् ॥
- 23 तन्मध्ये कल्पवृक्षं च सौवर्णं कमलासनम् ।
ब्रह्माणं द्विभुजं देवं प्राङ्मुखं विनिवेशयेत् ॥
- 24 मेरुशृङ्गाणि चत्वारि राजतानि प्रकल्पयेत् ।
सौवर्णं मादनं प्लक्षं मन्दरे विनिवेशयेत् ॥
- 25 हिरण्यं गरुडं जम्बुगन्धमादनपर्वते ।
सौवर्णं च पुरोहंसमश्च तथैव परिकल्पयेत् ॥
- 26 सुपार्श्वे सुरभीं हैमीं न्यग्रोधं च निवेशयेत् ।
राजतानपि सर्वेषु मृगपक्षिमहीरुहः ॥
- 27 इक्षुचन्दनखण्डानि सर्वेषु विनिवेशयेत् ॥
- 28 द्वारेषु कुम्भौ जलवस्त्रयुक्तौ
फलैर्युतौ चन्दनखण्डयुक्तौ ।
कोणेषु पूर्णं कलशं तथैव
चतुर्दिशमिक्षुरसं निधाय ॥
- 29 कृत्वैवमदिप्रवरांश्च देवा—
नाराधयन् चन्दनपुष्पधूपैः ।
स्वनाममन्त्रैश्च नमोऽन्तरूपै—
रभ्यर्च्य सर्वानथ विप्रमुख्यान् ॥
- 30 सार्धं तथा गुरुणा पञ्चभिस्तैः
पुण्याहकं स्वस्तिमृद्धिं च वाच्यम् ।
ततोऽत्र होमं गुरुरेव कुर्यात्
पूर्वोत्तरस्यां दिशि भूधराणाम् ॥

- 31 अग्निं समाधाय घृतेन दध्ना
जुहोति देवाय च नाम चोक्त्वा ।
तथा गिरीणामपि नाममन्त्रै—
दर्शाहुतीरधिकं चैवमेकम् ॥
- 32 पूर्वैद्युरेवं गुरुरेव कृत्वा
निशां तथा जागरणं च कुर्यात् ।
रक्षोघ्नमन्त्रांश्च जपन् स आस्ते
ततः प्रभाते विमले प्रकर्ता ॥
- 33 प्राप्ते पुण्ये दानकाले प्रदाता
कुशोदकैस्तिलमिश्रैश्च विद्वान् ।
स्नात्वा शुचिगुरुणा प्रोक्षितोऽसौ
तथा मन्त्रैर्वारुणैः पावमानैः ॥
- 34 दद्यात् पुष्पाञ्जलिं तत्र मेरोः कृत्वा प्रदक्षिणम् ।
संपूज्य दद्याद्विप्राय गुरवे वाहिताग्नये ॥
- 35 यस्मात्त्वं लोकपालानां ब्रह्मणः परमेष्ठिनः ।
आवासः सर्वदेवानां तस्मान्मां पाहि सर्वतः ॥
- 36 यस्मात्त्वं क्षितिपद्मस्य कर्णिकारं महीधर ।
तस्मात्त्वं सर्वदा ह्यस्मच्छ्रेयांसि प्रददस्व वै ।
- 37 इति दद्यान्महामेहं विप्राय विदुषे ततः ।
प्रागाद्युत्तरपर्यन्तान् विप्रेभ्यः प्रतिपादयेत् ॥
- 38 प्रत्येकमेकं विदुषां चतुर्णां प्रतिकल्पयेत् ।
दद्यात् पुष्पाञ्जलिं चैव कृत्वा चापि प्रदक्षिणम् ॥
- 39 यस्मात्त्वं मदनावासो देवानामपि पर्वत ।
संप्रीयतां मे भगवान् मन्दरः पर्वतोत्तमः ॥
- 40 यस्मात्त्वं गरुडावासः सदा देवालयचलः ।
संप्रीयतां मे भगवान् गन्धमादनपर्वतः ॥
- 41 यस्मिन्नश्वत्थवृक्षस्थो हंसरुपी सदा वसति ।
तस्मात्संप्रीयतां मह्यं विपुलः पर्वतोत्तमः ॥
- 42 सुरभिस्तिष्ठते नित्यं न्यग्रोधो मस्तके तव ।
आरामो देवतानां त्वं सुपार्थ प्रीतिमान् भव ॥
- 43 इत्येवं पृथिवीपद्मदानं दानोत्तमं तथा ।
दत्त्वा भुङ्क्तेऽधिकान् भोगान् ब्रह्मसालोक्यमाप्नुयात् ॥
- 44 पुण्याहं स्वस्तिमृद्धिं च वाचयेद्गुरुणा सह ।
विद्वद्भिः पञ्चभिर्विप्रैर्दद्यात्तेषां तु दक्षिणाम् ॥
- 45 दानोपपेक्षे गुरवे दक्षिणां प्रतिपादयेत् ।

- 46 दानमानसमं निष्कं जातरूपं विधानतः ।
 आसनं शयनं वस्त्रं पात्रं भोजनसाधनम् ॥
 पानीयसाधनं कांस्यं गुरवे प्रतिपादयेत् ॥
- 47 एतद्दानेऽप्युपयुक्तं समस्तं
 दद्यात्तस्मै गुरवे वस्त्रजातम् ।
 स्वयं भुङ्क्ते स घृतं पाणिनोक्तं
 गुरुन् विप्रान् भोजयेद्वेष्टवर्गान् ॥
- 48 एवं पुरा ऋषये नारदाय
 जगत्कर्ता वाग्रवीर्यद्वयोनिः ।
 मया चोक्तं पृथिवीपद्मदानं
 ततः किं च प्रव्रवीमि द्विजेन्द्राः ॥

इति ब्रह्माण्डपुराणोक्तः पृथिवीपद्मदानविधिः । हेमाद्रिः दानखण्डः PP. 318-324

The *Smṛticandrikā* (āhnikā) (p. 201) contains a long passage with the introductory remarks—“*Viṣṇudharmottare Pulastyah*”. Most of the verses are identical (excepting some variations in sequece and readings) with those found in the Appendix II-C of the *Pulastyasmṛtisāṅgraha*, But the first two verses and the last one are not found in the collection of authors. They are as follows :—

विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे पुलस्त्यः—

- 1 गवां शतस्य विप्राणां यद्वत्तस्य भवेत्फलम् ।
 घृतप्रस्थेन तद्विष्णोर्भवेत् स्नानान्न संशयः ॥
- 2 भूरियुष्मेन संप्राप्ता सप्तद्वीपा वसुन्धरा ।
 घृताढकेन गोविन्दप्रतिमास्नपनात्किल ॥
-
- 3 दध्यादीनां विकाराणां क्षीरतः संभवो यथा ।
 तथैवाशेषकामानां क्षीरस्नपनतो हरेः ॥

(It is to be noted that the verse 1 and 3 mentioned above are quoted by the *smṛtimuktāphala* (Āhnikā p. 387) as simply from ‘Pulastya’ and not as found here as ‘*Viṣṇudharmottare Pulastyah*’. These verses from the *Smṛtimuktāphala* have been noted previously as nos. 4 and 7 as verses from Pulastya).

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VIṢṆUPURĀṆA—A PURĀṆARATNA

By

K. K. A. VENKATACHARI*

Purāṇas have a unique place in the ancient Indian Literature and they are supposed to be an encyclopaedia of Indian history and religion. While Purāṇas are many the most prominent among them are eighteen and among these too, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, has a place of its own. It is the most precious jewel as it were, among all other *Purāṇas*.

Yamunācārya, ācārya of Rāmānuja, had composed a *stotra* in praise of Viṣṇu which later on, he called as *Stotraratna*. It comprises of 65 stanzas, touching all the aspects of relationship of the deity and the devotee. Vedāntadeśika, at the beginning of his commentary on *Stotraratna* explains the rationale of calling this hymn as a jewel supreme. According to him, this *stotra* elaborates the *prāpya* and *prāpaka* and this gives it a unique place in *Bhakti* Literature. He says,

This *stotraratna* has been placed in the *samputa* (jewel box) in praise of ācārya. This is a Treasure without limits, for the learned to get into it. While concluding his commentary on this *stotra*, Vedāntadeśika remarks that this *stotra* is the essence of the *trayī vedānta* and is also the elaboration of the *dvayārtha*—the essence of Śrīvaiṣṇava tradition.

*Stotraratnamidam nyastam ācārya-stuti-sampute
nidhānam iva nissīmam nirviśanti vipaścitaḥ* (5)

Yamuna records his gratitude towards his predecessors and all those who helped him in understanding the tradition well. The fourth stanza specifically mentions his sense of gratitude towards Parāśaramuni, who composed the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. He says—

Obeisance to Parāśara, chief among contemplative saints who mercifully composed the Gem of Purāṇas, in order to present correctly the sentient, the non-sentient and *Īśvara* (*cit acit* and *Īśvara*) together with their real nature; and also (the *jīvas*) enjoyment, final beatitude, means of attaining the two, and the path (taken by the *jīvas*)¹

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* 'Aarsh' Akshardham, J. Road Sector 20, Gandhinagar-382020.

१ तत्त्वेन यश्चिदचिदीश्वरतत्त्वभावभोगापवर्गतदुपायगतीरुदारः ।

संदर्शयन् निरमिमीत पुराणरत्नं तस्मै नमो मुनिवराय पराशराय ॥

According to Yamunācārya, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* is a *Purāṇa ratnam* as it gives the definition of *Tattvatraya* viz. *cit*, *acit* and *Īśvara* as also of *bhoga* and *apavarga*. It also describes the means to attain these both.

These are the aspects which are very important from the point of view of *Viśiṣṭādvaita* philosophy. Vedāntadeśika quotes profusely from *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, in his commentary on *Stotra ratnam*, to vindicate the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* view of *cit*, *acit* and *Īśvara*. Thus he expounds the *jīva svarūpa* and cites from *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and says that the *piṇḍa* or the body comprising of various limbs must be distinguished from the *ātman*. The use of the pronoun *aham* is not applicable to the body.² Body is the collection of limbs only. Again *Ātman* is not a celestial being; he is neither man nor animal nor vegetation. All these are variations in forms according to the actions performed by the performer³ or for performing the actions. *Ātman* is beyond *prakṛti* and is full of knowledge, untainted, pure and not corrodable. *Ātman* is peaceful and with no qualities whatsoever.⁴

Again Vedāntadeśika cites from *Viṣṇupurāṇa* and states that those who meditate on *dvādaśākṣara* alone are not reborn in this world. All others have to subject themselves to births and deaths.⁵

Regarding the *acit svarūpa*, *Viṣṇupurāṇa* states that the cosmos has evolved out of the primordial source comprising the three *guṇas*. All other forms—manifest and unmanifest—including time have also their origin in the same source.⁶

२ पिण्डः पृथग्यतः पुंसः शिरःपाण्यादिलक्षणः ।

ततोऽहमिति कुत्रैतां संज्ञां राजन्करोम्यहम् ॥

श्री. वि. पु. २-१३-८९

३ पुमाञ्च देवो न नरो न पशुर्न च पादपः ।

शरीराकृतिमेदास्तु भूपैते कर्मयोनयः ।

श्री. वि. पु. २-१३-९८

The word *karmayonayah* may be interpreted both ways.

कर्मणा योनयः or कर्मार्थं योनयः

४ आत्मा शुद्धोऽक्षरः शान्तो निर्गुणः प्रकृतेः परः ।

प्रब्रह्मपचर्यो नास्म्य चैकस्याखिलजन्तुषु ॥

श्री. वि. पु. २-१३-७१

५ गत्वा गत्वा निवर्तन्ते चन्द्रसूर्यादयो ग्रहाः ।

अद्यापि न निवर्तन्ते द्वादशाक्षरचितकाः ॥

श्री. वि. पु. १-१६-४०

६ त्रिगुणं तज्जगद्योनिरनादिप्रभवाप्ययम् ।

तेनाग्रे सर्वमेवासीद्याप्तं वै प्रलयादनु ॥

श्री. वि. पु. १-२-२१

Viṣṇupūrāṇa also describes the nature of the third *tattva* viz. *Īśvara* in most clear terms. *Īśvara* is one who does not suffer any change. *Īśvara* is pure and eternal. He is the soul Supreme. He is unchangeable in form. After describing these attribute of *Īśvara*, he directly refers to him by the appellation of all conquering Viṣṇu.⁷

About the place of *Bhoga* (*Bhogasthānam*) and *Bhogāpakaraṇam*, again, there are invaluable quotations in the *Viṣṇupūrāṇa* which have been cited and lucidly explained.⁸ Means to attain *apavarga* is mentioned by Yamunācārya.

Thus *Bhoga* and *Bhogya bhoga upakaraṇas* have been described in detail in the sixth chapter of the first part of the *Viṣṇupūrāṇa*. The *Bhogasthānam* of the performing *Brāhmaṇas* is the *Prājāpatyaloka*, of the *Kṣatriyas* who do not return from the battlefield is *Indraloka*. The *Vaiśyas* have *Gandharvaloka* as their *bhogasthānam* and the *Sūdras* have *Gandharvaloka*. For the yogis who take delight in their ownself reside in the *amṛtasthānam*, also known as *Viṣṇupada*. All those who take resort to these places are born again and again. But those who are totally devoted to *Bhagavān* are not required to be born again.⁹

Rāmānuja in his *Śrī Bhāṣya* explains the word '*Bhagavān*' (vide the 1st pāda of the 1st chapter of *Brahmasūtra*). It is mentioned there, that the word *Bhagavat* (Divine lord) is used to denote the highest *Brahman* who is pure and the possessor of sovereignty and the cause of all causes. The syllable '*bha*' is associated with two meanings viz. that He makes all materials ready (for creation) and that He is the nourisher. Similarly the meaning of the syllable '*ga*' is that He is the leader, the creator. *Bhaga* is thus an affirmation of the six qualities viz. sovereignty, Heroism, Renown, Glory, Knowledge and Dispassion. The syllable *va* stands for *Vasanti* that is to say all beings reside in Him. In other words He is the self of all beings and is unchangeable. Thus He abides in everybody and is imperishable Knowledge, Power, Strength, Sovereignty, Heroism, Splendour—all these qualities, barring the undesirable and despicable ones, stand fully expressed

- ७ अविकाराय शुद्धाय नित्याय परमात्मने ।
सदैकरूपरूपाय विष्णवे सर्वजिष्णवे ॥ श्री. वि. पु. १-२-१
शास्ता विष्णुरशेषस्य जगतो यो हृदि स्थितः ।
तमृते परमात्मानं तात कः केन शास्यते ॥ श्री. वि. पु. १-१७-२०
८ योगिनाममृतं स्थानं स्वात्मसन्तोषकारिणाम् । श्री. वि. पु. १-६-३८
तेषां तत्परमं स्थानं यद्वं पश्यन्ति सूरयः । श्री. वि. पु. १-६-३९
९ ज्ञानशक्तिवैश्वर्यवीर्यतेजांस्यशेषतः ।
भगवच्छब्दवाच्यानि विना हेतैर्गुणादिभिः ॥शा. शा. वि. भा. ६-५-७९
एवमेष महाशब्दो मैत्रेय भगवानिति ।
परमब्रह्मभूतस्य वायुदेवस्य नाग्यगः ॥ शा. मी. भा. ६-५-७६

in the word *Bhagavat*. The appellation *Bhagavat* is applicable only to Vāsudeva in a true sense. If it is applied to any one else, it may only be a formality or just a secondary use of the term.⁹ Thus such terms *nirguṇa* and *saguṇa* obtainable in the Upaniṣats, have a special significance for Rāmānuja. *Nirguṇa* according to him means that which is devoid of despicable qualities and *Saguṇa* is one endowed with the six effulgent qualities mentioned above. He is not born, but He assumes the human or any other form as per His own will. This He does for the benefit of the Universe.¹⁰ In fact He is beyond everyone else and yet He is the master of all. He is omniscient and there is nothing in the world which is hidden from Him. Being the Self of everyone else, He knows every thing. He is the embodiment of all powers and is known as the Highest Lord.

Thus Rāmānuja has after citing all the relevant quotations from *Viṣṇu-purāṇa* describing the glory of the Supreme Lord, established the entire *cit* and *acit* as verily the form of Supreme Brahman. Again after describing all the glorious qualities, Rāmānuja points out Lord's association with non-intelligent matter (*acit*) in the form of *Kṣetrajñā*. *Kṣetrajñā*, however, is veiled by ignorance of *avidyā*. The *avidyā* is the result of sinful meritorious actions and these actions makes one forget the innate intelligence.¹¹

Rāmānuja's contribution thus becomes quite evident in his regarding *Brahman* as one with attributes and the world as the real manifestation of *Brahman*.

As *Viṣṇupurāṇa* specifically attributes omnipotence, Omniscience, to *Paramēśvara* and says that he is both, unmanifested before creation, and manifested afterwards and as it excels in describing the lord of the universe in all its glory, it is called a *Purāṇa-ratnam* — the crest jewel among all the *Purāṇas*.

१० समस्तकल्याणगुणात्मकोऽसौ स्वशक्तिलेशादृतभूतसर्गः ।

इच्छागृहीताभिमतोरुदेहसंसाधिताशेषजगद्वितोऽसौ ॥ शा. मी. भा. ६-५-८४

११ इत्यादिना परं ब्रह्म स्वभावत एव

निरस्तनिखिलदोषगन्धं समस्तकल्याणगुणात्मकं जगदुत्पत्तिस्थितिसंहारान्तःप्रवेशनियमनादिलीलं प्रतिपाद्य, कूटस्थस्य चिदचिद्वस्तुनस्सर्वाविस्थावस्थितस्य पारमार्थिकस्यैव परस्यब्रह्मणश्शरीरतया रूपत्वं शरीररूपतन्त्रंशक्तिविभूत्यादिशब्दैस्तत्तच्छब्दसामानाधिकरण्येन चाभिधाय, तद्विभूतिभूतस्य चिद्वस्तुनस्स्वरूपेणावस्थितिमन्निम्नश्रतया क्षेत्रज्ञरूपेण स्थितिं चोक्त्वा, क्षेत्रज्ञावस्थायां पुण्यपापात्मककर्मरूपाविद्यावेष्टितत्वेन स्वाभाविकज्ञानरूपत्वाननुसन्धानमविद्रूपार्थाकारतयाऽनुसन्धानं च प्रतिपादितमिति, परं ब्रह्म सविशेषं, तद्विभूतिभूतं जगदपि पारमार्थिकमेवेति ज्ञायते ।

श्रीभाष्ये—जिज्ञासाधिकरणमहासिद्धान्तः

SCULPTURES OF GAṆEŚA FROM GAYĀ

By

RAJIV KUMAR *

Gayā is situated about 92 kms. south of Patna, the capital of Bihar, on the high western bank of the river Phalgun, the joint stream of the river Mohana and the Lilajana. Gayā has been one of the most prominent, creative and radiating centres of Indian History and civilisation from the very early times. The region has contributed considerably in the field of artistic pursuits too. Large number of sculptures have been found scattered all over the region. In this article I have tried to describe some of the best sculptural specimens of Lord Gaṇeśa.

Gaṇeśa, the god of wisdom, remover of obstacles and bestower of success, occupies an important place in the Hindu pantheon from very early times. Although the origin of Gaṇeśa is shrouded in obscurity, it became very popular in the Gupta, Pāla Sena periods and he is still considered as the supreme deity of the Hindus and all the religious ceremony begins with the worship and chanting of the *mantras* of Gaṇeśa. He is the son of Śiva and Pārvatī. He has several epithets, such as *Vakratuṇḍa*, *Ekadanta*, *Hastimukha*, *Lambodara* and *Vighna-vināśaka*. Gaṇeśa is clearly mentioned alongwith Rudra and his consort for the first time in the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*¹ and he is called *Vināyaka* in the *Atharvaśīrṣa Upaniṣad*.²

The evolution of the images of Gaṇeśa can be traced from the Kushana period in the form of *Gajānana-Yakṣamūrti*.³ Gaṇeśa when represented in art, is easily recognised by his elephantine head, pot-belly and dwarfish form. The *Matsya Purāṇa*⁴ states that Vināyaka should have elephantine face, capacious

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 43, Nos. 3-4, March-June 1994 Issue, pp. 207-211.

* Qr. No.-A/17 Magadh University Campus, Bodh Gaya-824234.

1 Sastri, A. C. ed. *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, Kashi Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1991, II, 5-6.

2 *Atharvaśīrṣa Upaniṣad*, Referred to in Bhandarkar, R. G. *Vaiṣṇavism Śaivism and other minor religious systems*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1982, p. 147.

3 Singh, S. B., *Brahmanical Icons in the Northern India*, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 136-37.

4 Sastri, R. P. T. ed. *Matsya Purāṇa*, Hindi Sahitya Sammelana, Prayaga, Sam. 2003, Ch. 260, 52-55.

belly, large extended ears, big trunk, one tusk and three eyes and that he should be accompanied by his two consorts *Riddhi* and *Siddhi* and mount *mūṣaka* (mice). His face should be cast downwards and he should have strong arms, feet and shoulders. The four-armed god should carry a tusk and a lotus flower in the right hand and a battle-axe (*Kuṭhāra*) and a pot of ambrosia (*modaka*) in the left. According to the *Brhatsamhitā*, Gaṇeśa should possess an elephantine face with a single tusk and bulging belly and should carry a battle-axe and a radish in his hands.⁵ According to *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*⁶, the image of Gaṇeśa should have elephantine face with one tusk—and bulging belly, wearing tiger's skin and *Sarpayajñopavīta*. He should be seated in *lalitāsana*. He should have four arms, holding trident and rosary in the right hands and *paraśu* and *modaka-pātra* in the left. Describing the features of Gaṇeśa, the *Skanda Purāṇa* says; he is fat, short-statured, single-tusked with matted-hair wearing snake in the form of sacred thread. He has three eyes and a big body, holding *dhyaja*, *kuṭhāra* and *kamala*. Attended upon by *Siddhi* and *Riddhi*, *Gaṇādhyakṣa*, happy and a noble god, holding a sharp *aṅkuṣa*, had the body of red colour like that of vermillion (*Sindūrābham*).⁷

B. C. Bhattacharya remarks that the entire body of iconographic literature seems to be agreed in giving him an elephant head, a pot-belly and a dwarfish form, all of which undoubtedly form his marks of cognizance.⁸ According to Banerjee, the earliest Gaṇeśa images possibly evolved from Yakṣa and Nāga figures, and as such the elephantine face might have been borrowed by them.⁹ Bhattacharya further adds that the symbols, an axe and a lotus in two of his hands, are also common with nearly all his description.¹⁰

A considerable number of figures of Gaṇeśa have been found from different parts of Gayā attesting to the popularity of the deity in the district. The images are datable between 8th and the 12th centuries A.D. There is a fine sandstone sculpture, in bas-relief, of dancing Gaṇeśa, measuring 22" × 13", fixed on a wall inside the small shrine of Lord Somanātha-Śiva liṅga, situated on the Brahmayoni Hill, close to the shrine of Kapileśa. This deity is flanked by two devotees

5 Dvivedi, S. Ed. *Brhasamhitā*, Choukhamba Prakashan, Varanasi, 1959, Chap. 58, V. 58.

6 Kramrisch, S. Trans. *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa*, Calcutta University, Calcutta, 1928, III. 71, 13-16.

7 *Skanda Purāṇa*, S. V. Press, Bombay, V.E. Zolo, III, ii. 12. 25-28.

8 Bhattacharya, B. C. *Indian Images, I*, Calcutta, 1921, p. 14.

9 Banerjee, J. N. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, Calcutta University, Calcutta, 1956, p. 357.

10 *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

carved out in the lower corners and also two flying *vidyādhara*s on the upper corners. Out of his four hands the lower left is broken.

The bronze image of four-armed Gaṇeśa, from Fatehpur,¹¹ the headquarters of an administrative block of the same name in the Gaya District, represents him seated in *ardhaparyāṅka* with his left leg folded and tucked up on the seat and the right one pendent. He carries his own tusk in the front left hand and a battle-axe in the back left hand. The object held in the back right hand being blurred, it is difficult to recognise it though, the traces family preserved may suggest it to be a flower. He is, however carrying the bowl of sweets (*modaka*) in the front right hand to which the god has applied the proboscis of his elephant trunk, relishing the sweets in the pot to his heart's fill. As required by the canonical texts, he is pot bellied and has been putting on a sacred thread of snake (*sarpayajñopavīta*). His favourite vehicle, the mice, shown crouching near his right pendent leg appears to be looking at its master reverentially.

An image of eight armed dancing Gaṇeśa has been discovered from Baidrabad now in the Jahanabad district. The image is now housed in the Gayā Museum, Gayā. Unfortunately most of his arms are damaged and also the proboscis of his trunk is broken. The sculpture represents the god as dancing on a double-petalled lotus pedestal with his vehicle, the mice shown depicted below the lotus facing towards the right. The deity, rendered dancing rather vigorously, is having three bends in his body. On consideration of its style, it may be dated in about the 9th-10th century A.D.

A eight-armed dancing sculpture of Gaṇeśa lies in the village of Oyana in the Ghoshi police station of Gayā district (now in the Jahanabad district). The sculpture is profusely ornamented and the god wears *Jaṭāmukuta* and various other ornaments—*ekāvali*, *ratnopavīta*, *Bhujabandha*, *kaṅgana*, *mekhalā*, etc. The right leg of the god is situated on the *āsana* and the left is uplifted and bent in the dancing posture. Gaṇeśa is dancing on the tips of the left toes. It may be noted in this connection that the god holds a snake in his two upper hands *Parśu* and *Japamālā* in the two right hands. His fourth right hand is raised in the *abhaya mudrā*. In his left hands Gaṇeśa holds the tail of a serpent, lotus and pot of sweets. The trunk is turned to the left. The sculpture may be dated to about 10th century A.D.

Another eight-armed dancing figure of Gaṇeśa is in the Kṛṣṇa Dwārika temple of Gayā at a near distance to the west of the well known Viṣṇupada temple of Gayā. The sculpture is made of black basalt. Gaṇeśa is depicted as

11. Kumar, Rajiv, "Description of Bronze Image from Fatehpura," *The Vedic Path*, Vol. LIII, No. 1, Gurukula Kangri Vishwavidyalaya, Haridwar, June 1990, p. 66.

dancing on a high pedestal of *pañcaratha* style. The head of Gaṇeśa is turned towards the right and the trunk towards the left. The god holds a snake in his lower right hand, *Kuṭhāra* in his middle right hand and *Japamālā* in his upper right hand. The front right hand is held in *abhayamudrā*. The upper left hand stretched straight on his left shoulder depicting the dancing action. It may be noted in this connection that the god carried his own tusk in his middle right hand, but the object held in his lower left hand is broken. His front left hand is also broken. The halo is decorated by deep oval lines around the head of the god. The god is represented with a bunch of mangoes with leaves and a pair of *Gandharvas* each on either side of the head of Gaṇeśa. The musicians seated on the either side of the dancing figure are nicely depicted.

One of the finest sculptures of dancing Gaṇeśa, measuring 2' 8" × 1' 9" and carved on a stele of black-basalt, lies in a Kālī temple at the village of Bela in the district of Gayā. The sculptor has achieved considerable success in infusing life in the sculpture by showing rhythmic movement of the hands, legs and the body. The sculpture is six-armed holding lotus stalk in the middle or the main right and a ring like object in the upper raised right hand. The god holds the shaft of a *Kuṭhāra* in his lower left hand. The upper or front left hand is twisted and held loosely across the left chest and the pot-belly stretching up to the right thigh with the palm opening towards the front giving an effect of the movement of the dance. Gaṇeśa wears a crown and ear-rings, beaded necklace and *ratnopavīta* which is hanging from his left shoulder. The god is also adorned with wristlets, armlets and girdle. Gaṇeśa is engaged in dancing on *triratha* lotus throne placed on a high pedestal containing the representation of a spirited figure of his *vāhana*, the mouse. The head of Gaṇeśa is slightly curved towards the right but the trunk is bent towards the left and its proboscis is placed into a pot containing the *modaka* held in his middle left hand.

There is a representation of two seated figures, one each on either side of Gaṇeśa. They are engaged in playing on the musical instruments. The right one is playing on *tablā* with his left hand placed on it and the right hand raised above. The left figure is seated and playing with *Jhāla*. These figures are so nicely depicted.

Another remarkable eight-armed dancing sculpture of dancing Gaṇeśa, measuring 2' 1" × 1' 6" and carved out in a stele of black basalt, has been acquired from the village of Kachnama, about 6 miles to the east of Bela Railway station on the Patna-Gayā branch of the Eastern Railway. The sculpture represents the god dancing over a *pañcaratha* pedestal with the legs placed on the lotus throne. The sculpture holds a snake in his lower right hand, *Kuṭhāra* in the middle right hand and rosary in his back upraised right hand. His front

right hand and the lower left hands are broken. In the two of his middle left hands, the god carries his own broken tusk and a lotus. The upper left hand of the figure is upraised in the dancing *mudrā*. The head is turned towards the right and the lower portion of his trunk is damaged. The *vāhana*, the mouse, is represented on the pedestal just below his feet with his head raised towards the right. The sculpture also shows the representation of two seated attendants one each on either side of the figure.

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ANĀRKALI

By

APARNA CHATTOPADHYAY*

Anārkali is a legendary figure in the history of Jahāngīr. The story generally known is that prince Salim (later Jahāngīr) fell in love with the innocent damsel. But his father, emperor Akbar, was very much against their marriage. And so by the order of Akbar, Anārkali was buried alive. Her tomb, raised by Salim, stands in Lahore.

In none of the sources of Mughal history in general and in the history of Jahāngīr in particular, we find any fact about Anārkali. But Edward Terry who was in India during the period 1616-1619, gives the following account of Anārkali. He says—Aqaber-sha had threatened to disinherit the present king for abuse of Anar-Kalee (that is Pomegranate Kernell) his most beloved wife; but on his death-bed repealed it.¹

William Finch who visited India during the period between 1608-1611 gives the same facts. In the description of Lahore, Finch says—there is a mosque built by Shaikh Farid. Beyond it there is a fair monument for Anārkali. Finch says—Immacque-Kelle (Pomegranate Kernell), one of the wives of Akbar with whom it is said *Sha* Selim had to do ... Having come to know of it (upon notice of which) the king (Akbar) caused her to be enclosed quick within a wall in his mohol where "Shee dyed" (she died) and the king (Jahāngīr) in token of his love commands a sumptuous tomb to be built of stone in the midst of a four square garden richly walled with a gate and diverse rooms over it.²

Almost the same facts are given by a modern author in his book on Lahore, which is quoted below—"The legend says: Anārkali or "Pomegranate Blossom" was the nickname of Nādirā Begam, or Sharafun Nisa, one of the favourites of the harem of Akbar. One day, while the Emperor was seated in an apartment lined with looking glasses, with the youthful Anārkali attending him, he saw from her reflection in the mirror that she returned Prince Salim (afterwards Jahāngīr) a smile. Suspecting her of a criminal intrigue with his son, the emperor ordered her to be buried alive. She was accordingly placed in an

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* Banares Hindu University, Varansi, 221006.

1 Foster William, Edit. by *Early Travels in India (1583-1619)*, Exclusive Distributor Munshi Ram Manoharlal, Delhi, p. 330.

2 *Ibid*, p. 166.

upright position at the appointed place, and was built round with bricks. Salim felt intense remorse at her death, and on assuming sovereign authority, had an immense superstructure raised over her sepulchre."

The author further points out that the contemporary chronicles including the autobiography of Jahāngīr (Tuzuk) are silent about it.³

The inscription on the tomb is a Persian couplet which runs as follows—

تا قیامت شکر گویم که دگار خویش را
آه گر من باز بینم روی چار خویش را

"Ah! could I behold the face of my beloved once more, I would be thanks unto my God until the day of resurrection."

Then follows—

مجنون سلیم اکبر

"The profoundly enamoured Salim, son of Akbar."⁴

There are two dates on the sacrophagus. One is 1599 AD. which is supposed to refer to the death of Anārkali, or the body buried in the tomb. On the "west side of the sacrophagus is another date which is 1615 AD. which is supposed to be the date of the building of the tomb.⁵

According to M. Baqir, the story of Anārkali is a fiction concocted by W. Finch, who visited Lahore eleven years after the supposed death of Anārkali.

The arguments of the above-mentioned author in support of his theory that Anārkali never existed in flesh and blood are the following:—

In the first place the Mughal Chronicles are silent about the subject. Secondly, in the account of Finch we find that Anārkali was the mother of Don sha that is Daniyal, a son of Akbar. But there is no corroboration of the fact from any source that Daniyal's mother was Anārkali. Thirdly "Anārkali Garden is mentioned by Dārā Shikoh, the eldest son of Shahjahan in his Sakinatul Auliya (Dara Shikoh, Sakinatul Auliya, p. 100) in 1052 A.H. (1642 A.D.). It is stated that the garden is laid out on the southern side of the city with a dome in the corner of its southern wall. Unfortunately Dara Shikoh does not furnish us with any reference pertaining to the person buried beneath the dome in the precincts of the Anārkali Garden."⁶ So the silence of Dara Shikoh regarding the person buried there should be taken as a point which suggests non-existence of Anārkali. In the fourth place from the date on the tomb 1599 A.D. (1008 A.H.) and the inscription

مجنون سلیم اکبر

3 Muhammad Baqir, *Lahore Past and Present*, B. R. Pub. Delhi p. 428.

4 *Ibid*, p. 430.

5 *Ibid*.

6 *Ibid*, pp. 431-432.

(The profoundly enamoured Salim, son of Akbar) it is clear, according to M. Baqir that the construction of the tomb was completed when Jahāngīr was still a prince. But the account of Finch tells us that Jahāngīr constructed it when he was already on the throne. Lastly what Beveridge has pointed out in his translation of *Akbarnāmā*, goes against the theory that Anārkali, if she really existed, was buried alive by the order of Akbar. Beveridge says—

“ The inscription on Anārkali’s tomb bears the date 1008 (1599-1600) in letters and figures. But this cannot be the date of her death, for Akbar was not at Lahore in that year. He left it for Agra on 26th Āban 1007 (November 6, 1598 A.D.) Either the story about her being buried alive is untrue or the date is not that of her death, but of the building of the tomb ”. (Beveridge, H., *The Akbarnāmā*, III, 1155 f.n).⁷

What Dr. Baqir says regarding the identity of the lady buried in Anārkali Garden is that the Anārkali tale is a fiction and the building is the tomb of Sāhib-e-Jamal, one of the wives of Jahāngīr, who died at Lahore in the same year. She was the mother of Parvez, son of Jahāngīr, and daughter of Zain Khān Koka. She was married to Jahāngīr in 995 A.H. (1586 A.D.)⁸ Dr. Baqir is of opinion that Anārkali tale is an invention of William Finch.⁹

If we scrutinise the above arguments of M. Baqir we find the following—
In the first place the silence of the Mughal Chroniclers about Anārkali can be explained in the following way. If Anārkali was an inmate of Akbar’s harem and if she had an illegal love affair with her step son Salim, which caused her death, it is not a worth—mentioning fact for the history of Akbar. Akbar had five thousand women in his harem.¹⁰ If one of them proved faithless and was given death sentence, the matter was possibly insignificant for the historians of the age. Secondly, if Anārkali was not the mother of Daniyal, it does not prove that she did not exist at all. Thirdly, if Darā Shikoh has not written anything about Anārkali in his description of Anārkali Garden, this silence also on the part of Dārā Shikoh cannot conclusively prove that Anārkali tale is a mere fiction. It is possible that the heinous act of burying a lady alive, done by his great grand-father, was not a topic worth-narrating in his book.¹¹

With reference to the date on the tomb 1599 A.D., and the writing ‘ profoundly enamoured Salim,’ Dr. Bakir has pointed out that the construction

7 *Ibid* p. 432.

8 *Ibid*.

9 *Ibid* p. 430.

10 *The Ain-I-Akbari of Abu L-Fazl Allami* trans. into English by H. Blochmann, Ed. by S. L. Goomer, Naresh C. Jain, New Delhi second Ed. 1935.

11 Foster, William, *Op. cit.*, p. 166.

of the tomb was completed that year. But according to Finch it was completed when Jahangir was already on the throne. But William Foster tells us that the tomb which is still one of the sights of Lahore, was not finished till 1615.^{11*}

We can reasonably construe that the construction was started in 1599 A.D. and possibly it was completed by 1615. Since Jahangir loved Anārkali when he was a prince and was called Salim, and the episode ended during that period when he had not yet taken the name of Jahāngīr, he liked to engrave his name as Salim on the tomb of his lost beloved.

As regards the views of Beveridge that Anārkali was not buried by the order of Akbar because Akbar had left Lahore in November 1598 whereas the date of the inscription on the so called tomb of Anārkali is 1599, it is possible that though Anārkali was buried alive by November 1598, the construction of the tomb started in 1599 and the body of Anārkali which was buried within a wall was taken out and was duly buried in the tomb by that time.

Though construction of the tomb was finished by 1615 when Jahangir was on the throne for several years, it is natural that he would not write his name Jahāngīr on it but would prefer to have his name Salim engraved on it. It was Salim and not Jahangir who loved and lost Anārkali.

Lastly, the view of Dr. Baqir that the Anārkali story was a production of the brain of William Finch can not be accepted as a correct opinion. Because Finch could not concoct a tale out of no data. Such tale, in all probability, was current and Finch recorded it. It was also not necessary for an indigo seller like Finch to fabricate a queer tale about the then Indian monarch and his father unless he had some data obtained from India itself. That Edward Terry has also given the same facts, supports the assumption that Anārkali existed and adorned the harem of Akbar. Since Akbar was pretty old by 1598-99, it is possible that this beautiful lady had developed some affair with the romantic prince Salim. According to Father Xavier, in 1597 prince Salim had no less than twenty lawful wives and three hundred concubines.¹² Akbar certainly would not object to his having Anārkali as a wife or as an inmate of his harem unless Akbar himself had taken her as one of the members of his seraglio. Since she proved faithless, Akbar punished her by death sentence. Otherwise addition of one more woman to the harem of Salim would have meant nothing to Akbar.

According to Terry, Akbar was so much enraged because of Salim's affair with Anārkali that he decided to disinherit him. Though in history, we find other reasons for this kind of decision on the part of Akbar and though Salim's love affair with Anārkali who was a wife of Akbar has not been taken as one of

*11 Foster Willam, *op. cit.* p. 166.

12 Sharma, S. R. *The Crescent in India*, Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Reprint 1913, p. 369.

the reasons or the main reason for Akbar's decision to disinherit Salim, it is certain that this kind of idea was prevalent among the masses and Terry recorded it.

Further, according to Dr. Baqir, the tomb of Anārkalī is actually the tomb in which was buried Sāhib e Jamal, one of the wives of Jahangir, who died in Lahore in the same year and she was the mother of Parvez. If the tomb was raised for this lady who was a legally married wife and mother of a son of Jahāngīr, it is expected that the tomb should bear an inscription in which her name and the name of her son should be engraved. But the inscription gives the impression that it bears the feelings of a frustrated lover for his beloved. It does not contain the feelings of bereavement of a husband for a wife who had lived with him and had given him a son. Lastly, one more point worth-noting is that the garden where the said tomb stands should not have been named after Anārkalī but should have been named either after the lady Sāhib-e-Jamal or after her son Parvez, if the lady buried there were not Anārkalī. In Allahabad there is Khusrau Bagh where both Khusrau, the eldest son of Jahangir and Khusrau's Hindu mother lie buried. And if the lady was Sāhib-e-Jamal, Jahāngīr would have preferred to inscribe his name Jahāngīr and not Salim on the tomb.

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SHRI AUROBINDO'S VISION ON KĀLIDĀSA

By

PRAFULLA K. MISHRA*

I. Shri Aurobindo the sage, seer, scholar and poet of first-half of twentieth century is a prolific writer on Yoga, Philosophy, politics and poetics with a global vision. Educated in England and being graduated from Cambridge he returned back home in 1893 (a hundred years ago) to serve in Baroda state service with a strong background of Greek, Latin, German, French, English Spanish and Italian. As a mark of respect to this nationalist poet-thinker and seer in his home-coming centenary his vision on Kālidāsa is worth discussing.

II. The writings on Vyāsa, Vālmiki and Kālidāsa are being collected in his *Centenary Vol. III* (out of his 30 volumes) where he deals with Kālidāsa's background of Mālava, his age of writing, the defects of historical method, on translating Kālidāsa, *The Seasons*, *Vikramorvaśīyam*, his characters like Purūravas, Urvaśī, minor characters, *apsaras*, Hindu drama, skeleton notes on *Kumārasambhavam* and a proposed work on Kālidāsa. He has compared the poetic genius of world's great poets like Homer, Shakespeare and Dante with Vyāsa, Vālmiki and Kālidāsa in a greater perspective. With this global view Shri Aurobindo considers the poetic gift of Kālidāsa on the background of age, place and poetic panorama.

Suggesting a probable habitation of Kālidāsa who lived in a village nearby Ujjayini like Dasapura and finally settled in Ujjayini by the royal patronage of Vikramāditya, Shri Aurobindo introduces--"In the long history of poetry the great power...with human evolution emerged with noble and various poetic gifts, with creative genius which is found...in the splendid and luxurious city of Ujjayini, the capital city of Mālava".¹ Further he says.—

"It is doubtless subsequent to this date that Kālidāsa came to Ujjayini to sum up in his poetry the beauty of human life, the splendours of art and the glory of the senses."²

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* Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.

1 *Sri Aurobindo Birth Centenary Edition*, Vol. 3, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry-1972-p. 213.

2 *Ibid*, p. 216.

III. Kālidāsa—the great creative genius :

Kālidāsa is considered to be the third great creative genius. He holds—
“ In the long history of poetry the Great Powers who are ever working the first energies of nature into the wrap of our human evolution met together and resolved to unite in creating a poetical intellect and imagination that, endowed with the most noble and various poetical gifts capable in all the great forms used by creative genius, should express once and for all in a supreme manner the whole sensuous plane of life, its heat and light, its vigour and sweetness.”³

Introducing further the significant contribution of three great poets which are visualised from an aerial view he says —“ Vālmīki, Vyāsa and Kālidāsa are the essence of the history of ancient India, if all were lost, they would still be its sole and sufficient cultural history.”⁴

The background of arts, science and philosophy of Upaniṣads and Purāṇas are adopted by Kālidāsa as a result of which he has changed the colour of the dry physical method of intellectualism and metaphysical logic to warm sensuous humanism of emotional religion.⁵ He was the true representative of his age by his learning and their expression in his creation. Shri Aurobindo adds—“ He himself must have been a man gifted with all the learning of his age, rich, aristocratic moving wholly in his society, familiar with and fond of life in the most luxurious metropolis of his time, passionately attached to the arts, acquainted with the sciences, deep in law and learning, versed in the formalised philosophies.”⁶

When the poet is found to be identified with all, quite naturally he is nearer to life, beauty and emotions. Shri Aurobindo elaborates this (i) Kālidāsa is the great, the supreme poet of senses, of aesthetic beauty, of sensuous emotion, (ii) His main achievement is to have been taken every poetic element, all great poetical forms and subdued them to a harmony of artistic perfection set in the key of sensuous beauty (iii) In continuous gift of seizing an object and creating it to the eye he has no rival in literature.

IV. Liberal view of Life—style:

Kālidāsa's age of aristocratic civilization is compared with the France under Louis XIV when it was the intellect or the sentiment that govern but not the soul where irreligious was bad but not the sensual or in some respect immoral⁷. Beautifully commented by Shri Aurobindo when he shows the later occurrences of Europe like Ancient Rome, in Italy of the Renaissance, in France under the Bourbons and in England under the later Stuarts and says, “ The old spiritual

3 *Ibid*, p 213

5 *Ibid*, p. 222

7 *Ibid*, p. 224

4 *Ibid*, p. 217

6 *Ibid*.

tendencies were also rather latent than dead, the mighty pristine ideals still existed in theory they are outlined with extraordinary grandeur by Kālidāsa,—nor had they yet been weakened or lowered to a less heroic key”.⁸

V. His poetic Subtleness:

Shri Aurobindo intends to recognise the subtle level of poetic acumen which is often missed by other commentators who search for the facts in the periphery or the circumference. Kālidāsa was fortunate enough to get the opportunity of the flourishing of the plastic arts that prepared a surrounding for great external beauty. “The appreciation of beauty of Nature, of the grandeur of mountain and forest, the loveliness of lakes and rivers, the charm of birds and beast life had become a part of contemporary culture. There are the sensitive appreciation of trees and plants and hills as living things, the sentimental feelings of brotherhood with animals which had influenced and been encouraged by Buddhism, the romantic mythological world still romanticised by Kālidāsa’s warm humanism and fine poetic sensibility, gave him exquisite grace and grandeur of background and scenic variety”.⁹ While reviewing *Rtusamhāra* Shri Aurobindo speaks of poetic talent: “Kālidāsa with his fine artistic feeling, his vitality and warm humanism and his profound sense of what true poetry must be, appears to have divined from the beginning the true place of Nature in the poet’s outlook. He is more emotional and intellectual than spiritual like Shakespeare to whom he has so many striking resemblances”.¹⁰ Shri Aurobindo does not expect from Kālidāsa the magical insight of Vālmiki, but on the other hand is disappointed to find him less spiritual in discernment than Wordsworth. Kālidāsa looks inside but not too far inside.

To summarise in a statement comparing Vālmiki and Vyāsa with Kālidāsa, he very forcefully solves this equation—“As in *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, we have an absorbing intellect—impulse of a dynamic force of moral or immoral excitement driving the characters, so we have in Kālidāsa an intense hedonistic impulse—thrilling through speech and informing action. An imaginative pleasure in all shades of thought and of sentiment, a rich delight of the mind in its emotions, a luxuriousness of ecstasy and grief, a free abandonment to amorous impulse and rapture, a continual joy of life and seeking of beauty mark the period when India, having for the time exhausted the possibilities of soul experience attainable through the spirit and the imaginative reason, was now attempting to find out the utmost each sense could feel, probing and sounding the soul possibilities in matter and even senses”.¹¹

8 *Ibid*, p. 225

10 *Ibid*, p. 253

9 *Ibid*,

11 *Ibid*, p. 226

VI. Historical Method denied :

Shri Aurobindo objectively denied the device of historical method to appreciate the poetry of Kālidāsa, "... the historical method is useful only with inferior writers who, not having had full powers of expression, are more interesting than their work,.... "The historical method is in fact a cloven foot of science attempting to insinuate itself into the fair garden of poetry".¹²

VII. His attempts:

Shri Aurobindo speaks of the difficulty of translating Kālidāsa. How the poetic beauty is not truly transformed by the translation to English. Besides he exhibits translations of some verses from different works.¹³ It can be reminded from his biographers'¹⁴ note that he has translated *Vikramorvaśīyam* in 1911 under the *Hero and the Nymph*. The translation of *Meghadūtam* has not been recovered so far; three early drafts of *Kumārasambhavam* are published. He gives some examples of *Meghadūtam* translation in this context of *Śyāmaḥ pādo Baliniyamanābhyudyatasyeva Viṣṇoḥ*.¹⁵

"Dark like the cloudy foot of highest God when starting from the dwarf-shape world—immense with Titan-quelling step through heaven he strode".

It seems he was charmed by the poetry of Kālidāsa of which he translated a lot. The *Urvaśī* poem he wrote in two different forms with his magnetic touch of poetic talent in the line of Kālidāsa.

"O earth made heaven to Purūraṇas!

O heaven left earth without sweet *Urvaśī*!¹⁶

The worlds' first and the last love story tempted him to write. Shri Aurobindo admires the prose of Kālidāsa which is to him unpretentious in its nature.

VIII. His Comments:

In a long discussion on *Rtusamhāra* he admires the accepted crudeness and flow of the work but alongwith those flows this poetry contains the first rate poetic splendour and drifting gift of sensuousness.

As regards *Vikram and the Nymph* his interest knew no bound which is fitted earlier. While discussing the major and minor characters he does not forget to discuss them with Āyu, the son of *Urvaśī*. On the other hand it is

¹² *Ibid*, p. 234

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 238-249.

¹⁴ Iyengar, K. R. Srinivas, *Sri Aurobindo; a biography and a history*, Pondicherry, 1985, p. 87.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 88-89.

¹⁶ *Collected poems*, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, p. 211.

strange to note that the *magnum opus* of Kālidāsa's play Śākuntala is over-sighted. "Child character is avoided by Kālidāsa as far as possible to avoid poetic and dramatic hindrance" is the view of Shri Aurobindo.

IX. Conclusion:

1. It is a misnomer to believe that Shri Aurobindo has not the first-hand knowledge when Sanskrit works of Vyāsa, Vālmiki, Kālidāsa and Śaṅkara are translated to a great extent which amounts to 200 pages (in A 4 size).

2. Besides his recent publication of Sanskrit writing called *Bhavānībhārati* and *Sri Aurobindopaniṣad*, translation of 1st Maṇḍala and Eight Upaniṣads and interpretation of Veda (*On Veda, The Hymns to the Mystic Fire*) etc. prompts his well-acquaintance in Sanskrit studies.

3. While discussing Kālidāsa he examines his poetic talent with unbiased opinion or depicted in *The Future Poetry*.

4. His three renderings of *Kumārasambhavam* (canto-I) and notes on *Kumārasambhavam*¹⁷ speak of his detailed knowledge and interest in the works of Kālidāsa.

5. His eighteen-chapter work proposal on Kālidāsa (which probably has not materialised) speaks of his explicit knowledge in the subject.

6. As regards the critical appreciations on the titbits of the work, Shri Aurobindo strongly holds his own opinion. As for example Tagore's remark on the poet's search for immortality in *Raghuvamśam* and Duṣyanta's sublimation of passion is not appreciated.

7. He strongly holds that *Kumārasambhavam* seems to be later than *Raghuvamśam* which is more brilliant. On the other hand *Kumārasambhavam* is more deep and matured. He is sceptic about the opinion of the authorship of Kālidāsa of only upto eight chapters of *Kumārasambhavam*. He says, "If you grant the common belief that Kālidāsa's work was only eight cantos of *Kumārasambhavam* then it does not seem logical that a man like Kālidāsa would complete *Raghuvamśam* leaving *Kumārasambhavam* unfinished."¹⁸

8. Since he has planned to write a big book (an eighteen chapter book) on Kālidāsa's works, he could do justice to all other works. But his attempts of translating *Mālavikāgnimitram*, *Vikramorvaṣīyam*, *Raghuvamśam*, *Kumārasambhavam*, *Meghadūtam* and *Rtusamhāra* could speak of the conspicuous absence of his attention for *Śākuntalam*. The mystery is not known.

17 *Sri Aurobindo Birth centenary Edition*, Vol. 8, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1972.

18 Purani, A. B. *Evening Talks*, Vol. 1, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1970, pp. 128-129.

9. Again it is strange enough to mark that such a critic on Kālidāsa who has to his credit a bulk of translation and discussion, is not noticed by the scholars.

10. A further study on some particular work would speak more in future about the consciousness of Kālidāsa in detail.

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- 1 Sri Aurobindo — *Bhavāni Bhārati*, Sri Aurobindo Ashram,
- 2 ————— Sri Aurobindopaniṣad
- 3 ————— Future Poetry
- 4 ————— The Foundation of Indian Culture

SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY IN K. C. BHATTACHARYA'S THOUGHT†

By

H. M. JOSHI *

K. C. Bhattacharya's thinking is conceptual. According to him concept relates to certain inalienable characteristics of Reality. They do not refer to facts in the external world. Facts are events happening in dimensions of space and time and they are observable by sense-organs. They are experienceable by physical and natural instruments of human organism. Philosophy as such does not refer to such observable events. Philosophy is conceptual understanding of the world. Moreover philosophy is not only a study but a method which is applicable to phenomena of the world. He attempts to interpret phenomena with a specific method of knowledge and experience. In this way he employs phenomenological method for understanding and explaining the world. Concepts of Negation and that of 'Indefinite' are employed in this context to grades of object and experience.

In order to take into cognizance the comprehensive data of the world including self and experience, Bhattacharya adopts the procedure of bringing into purview the negative category of perceiving the nature of Reality. In this context he holds that the phenomenon of committing error is crucial for determining the nature of truth and Reality. Bhattacharya holds that erroneous knowledge cannot become an object of true as well as proper thinking. Erroneous knowledge as that of projecting snake on rope cannot last for being claimed as proper existence. So from ultimate point of view it is to be cancelled in the valuation of true thinking.

To understand the structure of proper understanding in terms of subject and object that which is at bottom factual is entirely objective but it lacks in its cognizance by the subject. Physical and natural sciences are objective as they deal with facts and phenomena in space and time. The significant point in Bhattacharya's thinking is that even Metaphysics and philosophy of science are regarded as objective pursuits of rational understanding and therefore they are to that extent away from self and subjective status of knowledge. As Self can be properly 'known' such a status of 'knowledge' cannot be attributed to metaphysical and other scientific disciplines. Whereas other objects of understanding

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† Paper read at 64th Session of Indian Philosophical Congress held in Gujarat University, Ahmedabad, 15-17, October '89.

* 24/4 Nutan Bharat Society, Alkapuri, Baroda-7.
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can be thought but cannot be 'known,' in the case of self it can properly be known without being merely thought. He makes his philosophical position clear in contrast with that of Kant. In this respect Bhattacharya lays down a scale of objects of thought and existing phenomena in terms of extending object and contemplative subject. In this scale sciences are objective and they possess the relevant correspondence to literal truth as well as concrete reference to facts.

A distinction is made between literal truth and symbolic truth as the former is capable of being verified and having reference to external facts whereas the latter does not possess correspondence to actual occurrences. Scientific thinking is literal as it claims correspondence to its object. Philosophical thinking cannot in this way claim that its object is actually existing as physical object. Bhattacharya would certainly agree with Logical positivists that the object of metaphysical thinking does not actually exist and it is meaning less to dispute its occurrence. In case of science one can think as well as speak about the object believing that it is actually capable of verification in the outside world. In case of philosophy one is supposed to speak without expecting its object becoming actually so. Both in science and philosophy there is search for implicit principles. In this sense they are expressions of what Bhattacharya calls 'Theoretic consciousness'. There are two parts of Theoretic consciousness, (1) Thinking which is literal and can be shown and (2) Thinking which is only speakable which has no literal truth.

In this way there are two types of beliefs, those which can be thought to have corresponding verification and existence, other type of belief consists in speaking but not 'showing' corresponding to it. However both can be thought. In distinction from literal thought Bhattacharya says that contemplative thinking is 'symbolic thought'. There are three grades of Theoretic consciousness according to Bhattacharya, (1) Objective, (2) Subjective and (3) Transcendent thinking. Having followed his basis of the reference of object, it would be proper to inquire into the nature of thought and speech.

The nature of speech is indeed philosophical in Bhattacharya's thought as the source of experience according to him is not limited to sense-organs and allied nervous instruments but it is extended to 'Noumenal' and Real. Scientific categories and terms can be used and supplied to philosophical object but it cannot claim literal truth. Philosophical thinking is symbolic as it makes use of verbal form as a matter of 'necessity'. There is certain sense of compulsion to use verbal forms in symbolic thinking. In case of scientific dispute its description and analysis, speaking is not constituting its 'necessary' part as facts are directly involved in its reference and decision of truth. However in philosophical thinking speaking forms its compulsory part without which its communication becomes impossible. Fact can be known and understood without being spoken.

Conceptual understanding involves speech-form and act for its proper communication. In his paper on 'Concept of Philosophy', Bhattacharya writes 'Speakability is contingent character of the content of empirical thought but it is a necessary character of the content of pure philosophical thought.'¹

As regards assertion, facts can be judged and asserted. They are expressed in the form of proposition. They are shown as related predicates, property and attribute. Bhattacharya says, 'Fact is always expressible as a judgement of the form 'A is thus related to B', this being the only judgement-form that is literally intelligible.'² The subject-predicate form of expression may be understood to be a formulative way of describing facts. 'Grass is green', this statement asserts a relationship between grass and its colour green. It attributes a quality to a substance. It refers to a fact in the external world. The predicate is explicating the nature of the subject. This is scientific thinking in which there is an attempt to relate literally that is described in the statement. Contrary to this, philosophical judgements are not perceptible facts. They are not factual generalizations. As philosophy and the method of philosophy are not empirical, they do not state the actual affairs of the outside world.

Bhattacharya brings out this significant point that studies such as Logic, Epistemology, Metaphysics and philosophy attempt to abstract their approaches and studies from concrete state of affairs and world. This, however, does not mean that they are imaginative, fictitious and false creation of thought and speech. Bhattacharya takes cognizance of non-empirical modes of understanding, psychological states of consciousness and reflective mental occurrences of thinking and experience. He also takes into account spiritual introspective data of inward being and self. Epistemology is related with conscious processes and attitudes taking place in knowledge-situation. Logic is the study of various patterns of thinking, presuppositions, forms and its inter-connections. Metaphysics is the objective science of Reality.

In the case of Epistemology which is not only the study of techniques or validity of knowledge but it is also the elaboration of the process of conscious ascertainment of true evidencing of knowledge. It contemplates over the question, What is self-evident? And in doing this it attempts to lay down the conditions of being self-evident. Bhattacharya says 'it is such self-evident elaboration of the self-evident.'³ In order to formulate the judgement 'A was related with but now it is not' or another judgement 'This rope was seen as serpent but now it is not,' the thinker is required to take cognizance of certain

1 *Studies in Philosophy*: K. C. Bhattacharya: Edited by Gopinath Bhattacharya: Volume II: Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1959, p. 464.

2 *Ibid.* p. 465.

3 *Ibid.* p. 466.

data of introspective nature, and rules of thinking, the object of thinking and understanding is oriented towards what seems to be evident to mind. It tends towards subjective reflection on proper conditions of true thinking and elaborating the evident. Here Bhattacharya points out that to speak about what is true, evident and understandable is to articulate symbolic thought-statement. It is the internal subjective meaning which is contemplated, compared with other meanings, criticised and then considered to be true. Such an activity of subjective reflection seems to be dealing with the object. But actually it is not objective activity. It is subjective and symbolic. One can 'speak' about such a reflective consideration meaningfully. Here what is symbolised is the supposed objective Reality.

In case of science there is the activity of speaking but it is relied upon the act of perception but in reflective activity such as philosophising it is entirely restricted to speaking. It persists and develops on speaking. Thinker is obliged to express the contents of reflective activity in forms of speech. Bhattacharyas writes, 'The subjective is a positive entity through which the objective is understood'.⁴ The concept of the object is not reached through a generalization of the objective facts of science. It is in gradual step and ascension that the reflective thinker attempts to grasp the truth. They are (1) Fact, (2) Self-subsistence, (3) Reality and (4) Truth, are the steps through which the thinker reaches Truth and articulates in symbolic form. All these four forms are speakable. They are grades of speaking. Fact in science is spoken of as information and understood without reference to spoken form. It is what need not be spoken to be believed. It is this that Bhattacharya holds, 'Speakability is a contingent character of the content of empirical thought'.⁵ It is, however, the necessary character of the content of pure philosophic thought. 'In philosophy, the content that is spoken is not intelligible except as spoken'.⁶

It is said that there are proofs in philosophical argumentation whereas it is not so in scientific description and elaboration. Bhattacharya holds in this connection that this proof is not literal proof as it is presented in scientific technique and discourse. It is pseudo-proof in philosophical argumentation. Judgement is philosophical description in having different form as predicate. In such a judgement it is the explicit elaboration of the subject. The implicit meaning is brought out by the predicate. They are tautological judgements. Bhattacharya calls such a judgement as self-subsistent. It is not 'related' in the way in which a fact is related. Bhattacharya thinks that belief in the self-subsistence of the judgement is expressed here. 'The enunciation and denial of it are possible

4 *Ibid.* p. 466.

6 *Ibid.* p. 467.

5 *Ibid.* p. 466.

because we have already a belief in the self-subsistent. If the proposition is not understood as fact, it is because we cannot deny its self-subsistence. So we may deny its self-subsistence in the form 'object is not' meaning 'what is other than the subjective is not a definite or self-identical content for contemplation' a recognised philosophical view that is not *prima facie* meaningless. The denial is possible because we already believe in the subjective as enjoyed Reality. We may also deny Reality in the form 'I (as individual subject) am not'. This too is *prima facie* intelligible and it represents a grade of negation, for the individual subject is understood to be real as subject and not as object though it may be individual through some sort of identification with the object.

The nature of relationship in Logic is different from that in empirical sciences. 'Logical-form is non-factual'. Bhattacharya thinks that what are called universal, matter, life, mind as conceived in philosophy are not facts. The self or subject has a being that is not only non-empirical but also non-objective. This why Bhattacharya objects against the attempt to make introspection a natural method in the science of psychology. He calls it transcendent grade of determining truth. It is not an object. Self is conceived as belief which is usually not questioned. Self is spoken symbolically as 'I am'. The self is unintelligible except as the subject 'I' or as what the subject 'I' is not. There is no consciousness of an absolute or transcendental self without reference to the subject 'I'.⁷ It is only positively believed but there is no positive formulation of it independent of the notion of I. Thus here self is only symbolically used (I am) and consequently the word 'am' and the judgement-form is symbolically understood. 'Object is' is not a judgement because 'am' is only symbolically used but both are literally spoken the subject is literally understood as positive. But the sentence 'the absolute self is' is not only no judgement but it is not even literally spoken. Still it is not meaningless and it symbolises what is positively believed viz. Truth. "What is believed and is not literally speakable (and is as such deniable) is truth".⁸

There are four grades of speakables. There is the primary distinction between what is only symbolically speakable and what is literally speakable. The literally speakable comprises what is spoken of as information and what is only spoken and not spoken 'of'. Of these, what is only spoken is spoken either as symbolised or as meant, 'Truth is only symbolically spoken, reality is literally spoken as symbolised and the self-subsistent is literally spoken as meant'.⁹ These correspond to what were roughly called empirical, contemplative, enjoying and transcendent thought. In contemplative, enjoying and transcendent thought, the content is not spoken of, but is only spoken. If it is put in the judgement form,

7 *Ibid.* p. 467.

9 *Ibid.* p. 467.

8 *Ibid.* p. 467

'X is,' the form is only symbolical. In the first two, X is being literally understood, the content though not literally thought is still said to be literally spoken. In contemplative thought the judgement form is only symbolical; even in enjoying thought the word 'is' is also used symbolically. In transcendent thought, 'X' also being symbolical, 'X is' is not only not literally thought but not also literally spoken.

Bhattacharya holds that 'Beliefs in science alone are formulable as judgements and literally thinkable.'¹⁰ This shows that judgement in science is different from judgement in philosophy. The implicit belief of science is that the object is knowable and usable 'as of right.' The spiritual demand is that nature should be contemplated and not merely used or manipulated. There may be speculation in science too. But this Bhattacharya says, is the wrong attitude of science towards the object. 'The concept of self subsistent object is the first corrective that philosophy offers of the predatory outlook of science.'¹¹ 'Realism is a philosophical faith among faiths; the creed of science if formulated would be a pragmatist form of solipsistic idealism.'¹²

To conceive philosophy of science is improper according to Bhattacharya as this would be quite speculative and entering into the field of object with the supposed tools of symbols which would be inappropriate. In this way to think about philosophy of evolution, philosophy of Physics, Philosophy of Mathematics would be regarded as improper by Bhattacharya. As these philosophies of different subjects of science would involve in speech formulation alone without any command over correspondence with objective facts and its possible conception, it will be a fruitless task and exercise in philosophising. Philosophy of science turns into form of speech where language and verbal communication occupy more prominence than literal thinking.

All science as well as our ordinary knowledge about the world exemplify this speculative thought when related with philosophy. So also does fiction and fairytales which have secondary and derivative significance. For in none of these is sense-experience totally transcended. At least its vestige in the form of imagery remains. Philosophy of science has its past of vestige in the form of sense-imagery on account of which it is fixed to facts and objective content. 'Fact and the self-subsistent are both literally spoken and in both the believed content is figured by being spoken. Fact is understood as independent of this figuration while the self subsistent is presented as constituted by it. What is common to these spoken contents is this speech-created form.'¹³ Thought about laws or

10 *Ibid.* p. 467.

12 *Ibid.* p. 473.

11 *Ibid.* p. 472.

13 *Ibid.* p. 474.

general truths does involve use of language. All thinking does not involve verbalisation, though all speaking does so. Therefore thinking cannot always be described as a species of speaking. Thinking and speaking overlap so far as the use of language is concerned.

The significant point in this connection is that denial of the possibility of philosophy of science by Bhattacharya does not get properly substantiated. If there is overlapping between thinking and speaking then possibility of philosophy of science gets its scope which is related with both thought and speech. Of course speech has wider function than it is ordinarily supposed to have. Bhattacharya distinguished three functions of speech such as articulation, will to communicate and verbalisation. 'The will to speak is the will to verbalise for communication by articulation'.¹⁴ Typical speaking involves willing to communicate with and the intention to be understood by another mind. This means that the phenomenon of speech is interpersonal and it is indeed involving communication among persons. Speech is required to be meaningful for proper communication. So it cannot be devoid of objective reality and truth.

Philosophy according to Bhattacharya formulates and elaborates the concept of self-subsistent subject. What is common to such object and scientific fact is objectivity which is itself no fact, being only the circumstance of being understood in the objective attitude. This is the form of the object, self-subsistent form that is elaborated in Logic. It is indeed the form of the spoken fact. However it is true to say that such a study elaborates symbols in its technique of communication. Both Logic and metaphysics are describing spoken facts yet they are formulating symbols.

Metaphysics is also philosophy of the object and involves theoretic consciousness in the objective attitude. There is properly speaking no metaphysics of the subject according to Bhattacharya. What passes as such is either the metaphysics of mind understood as a particular type of object or is no metaphysics but a self-symbolising form of spiritual activity. Bhattacharya holds in this connection that 'No metaphysical concept is intelligible without reference to the subject or spirit which itself goes beyond metaphysics'.¹⁵

The above account of logic and metaphysics brings into centre the significance of speech and its content. While thinking about the object, consciousness and its various layers related with object cannot be dispensed with. To think about object and other persons itself becomes the content of thought. Besides the content of thought, speech too has its content involving articulating, willing to communicate and verbalising. All these three functions are working simultaneously. All these three constituents are assimilated into single activity. Meaningful speaking will involve all these parts actively. Of course it cannot be denied that there can be verbalisation with or without the intention to com

14 *Ibid.* p. 476.

15 *Ibid.* p. 477.

communicate alongwith the absence of articulation. This may be called speaking. Often mere articulation is regarded as speaking. All speaking is not thinking. But meaningful speaking does involve thinking. And to that extent articulation, verbalisation and will to communicate are constituting its necessary parts. Proper speaking involves willing to communicate with and the intèntion to be understood by another mind. In case of genuine speaking it is necessary to presuppose the existence of some other mind by whom the speaker wishes to be understood.

Illustration of meaningful speech is self, God, cosmos and values. The content of these ideas can be articulated, verbalised and communicated. They are not like square-circle, illusory object and meaningless words. At the same time they are not objects of sense-experience. They are, however, objects of transcendent thought. They are not factual and objective in the scientific sense of the term. They are transcendent and therefore the method of empirical thinking is not applicable to them. They are symbols of transcendent thought. To the extent that they are symbols they are potential enough for elucidation and description through words and speech. Here the speech is itself symbolic. These symbols are pregnant with meaning which is communicable. They are not entirely solip-istic. Had it been so, they would not be standing as legitimate beliefs in mind. They are not illusory as they do not require an ultimate experience to correct it. Here speech ought to persist with adequate meaning and symbol for understanding and communication.

Philosophising about self, God and value ought to find its legitimate place by proper symbolic speech and verbal communicative form. Philosophy is unique type of speaking in all forms of speech. This is true. However it does not lack in its potentiality of formulation, articulation and communication through proper transcendent symbols. These symbols are not illusory but meaningful. They require unique receptivity and understanding persisting in symbolic forms. In Ethics, Aesthetic and religious fields these symbolic expressions and communication play effective role. In like manner valuational study such as philosophy is capable of evolving unique speech and its methodology. It is noteworthy here that there are many fields of expression and communication which are beyond sense-experience such as Mythology, Art, Music, Logic, Metaphysics, Criticism and Historical interpretation in which meaningful thinking for proper understanding and persuasion are employed. It is true that symbols play larger role in these fields. However creative thinking is equally active in these fields as effective speech.

Note: Article on the topic 'Thinking and Speaking in the Philosophy of K. C. Bhattacharya, by Prof. Sanat Kumar Sen, published in '*Indian Philosophical Quarterly*' New Series, Vol. VIII, No. 3, April '81, has helped me in formulating my view and remark expressed in present paper.

THE TITLE OF SAMYOGITĀSVAYAMVARA—A PROBLEM*

By

SWETA PRAJAPATI*

Mūlaśaṅkara Yājñika (1886-1965 A.D.) was an erudite Sanskrit scholar and a brilliant dramatist of modern Sanskrit literature. He was born on 31st January, 1886 in Nadiad, a small town near Baroda in Gujarat. He made commendable efforts to enrich modern Sanskrit literature by writing various Sanskrit works. Though he is known as the author of fourteen works,¹ his three plays, viz., *Pratāpavijaya*, *Chatrapatisāmrājya* and *Samyogitāsvayamvara* (SS) have been considered as his important contribution by the outstanding Sanskrit scholars² of modern times.

Of these three plays, SS which is characterised by melody of diction, grace of expression and choice of scenes, seems to be his best creation. It is a historical play of seven acts and was published by Śrī Yājñika himself in 1928.³ In the conception of a historical plot, in the charm of diction, in the skilful observance of rules of classical Sanskrit dramaturgy as well as in the melodious songs Śrī Yājñika in this play has achieved a wonderful success.

The problem which has been taken up for study in the present paper is the concept of the term 'svayamvara' implied in the title of the play SS. Śrī Yājñika in his introduction of the play says that the theme of this love-play has been taken from the story of Pṛthvīrāja Chauhan, the last kṣatriya emperor of India, as depicted by Shriyut Shripad Shastri in his series '*Bhāratavīraratnamālā*.' Though the play is based on the said historical event, still, the original story is not very faithfully followed in this play. The author takes only bare idea, i.e. Samyogitā's

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* Department of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit. Faculty of Arts, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda-390 002.

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1 Jani, A. N. "Mulshankar Yagnik-His Life and Works," *Recent Studies in Sanskrit and Indology*, Ajanta Publication, Delhi, 1982, p. 147-149.

2 Krishnamachariar, M. *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Tirupati Devasthanams Press, Madras, 1937, p. 672.

3 Satyavrata, Usha, *Sanskrit Dramas of the Twentieth Century*, Meharchanda Lochhmandas Oriental and Foreign Book-sellers and Publishers, Delhi, 1971, p. 141

hearing about Pṛthvīrāja's valour, her love for him and marrying him against the will of her father, Jayacanda; and invents many incidents, in fact, the whole new chain of events for his dramatic purpose, while he drops the main incident of the *svayamvara* of Saṁyogitā, from which it appears that he titles his play. This leaves us guessing as to what should be the purpose behind it or what should we mean by the term *svayamvara* in this context.

To understand the significance of the title, an acquaintance with the outline of the story of the play is necessary.

The play begins with Jayacanda, the king of Kanoja, sitting with his ministers and discussing about the preparations for the Rājasūya sacrifice. He decides to invite all the kings except Pṛthvīrāja, the king of Delhi. Moreover, he issues an order that Pṛthvīrāja should act as the door-keeper in his sacrifice. Then he receives a letter from Pṛthvīrāja in which he has been censured for his misdeeds. Jayacanda is furious and incites Vālukarāya, his brother, for war against Pṛthvīrāja. Jayacanda also arranges for *svayamvara* of his daughter in spite of his knowledge of her dislike for it. He orders her friends to arrange for the spring festival and thereby tries to know the reason of her unhappiness (Act-I).

In Act II, the spring festival is in full swing. Saṁyogitā, daughter of Jayacanda, also tries to participate in it but is still not happy. When her friends worship Kāmadeva she falls unconscious. When she regains her consciousness, Cāturikā, her close friend, enquires with Saṁyogitā about the reason of her worry. Saṁyogitā tells her that she loves Pṛthvīrāja and is determined to marry him. The mother of Saṁyogitā overhears it from behind a tree and is worried, for, Pṛthvīrāja and Jayacanda are sworn enemies. She informs about it to Jayacanda, who immediately orders to keep Saṁyogitā in a secluded place near Bhāgirathī under strict observation.

In the *Viṣkamābhaka* to Act III, the conversation of two royal attendants- Mānasimha and Samarsimha-reveals that Jayacanda has postponed the Rājasūya sacrifice due to the death of his brother. He is likely to finish with the *svayamvara* of Saṁyogitā. In the act itself, though Pṛthvīrāja is worried about Saṁyogitā, still he is happy that she loves him. He is suddenly shocked to know about her imprisonment. On the other hand he is informed also of Mohammad Ghori's second attack. In the meantime he also receives a letter from Saṁyogitā for her rescue. At this critical juncture he decides to free her first and marry her, and then to attend Mohammad Ghori.

In Act IV, poet Canda (Baradāi) alongwith Pṛthvīrāja and other nobles disguised as his attendants visit Jayacanda in Kanoja in order to know the exact strength of his army. Jayacanda welcomes him with profound respect and gives him a separate palace to stay. To this palace Karṇāṭakī, a famous dancer

as well as the supervisor of Saṁyogitā, comes to pay her respects and informs Pṛthvīrāja about the plan to meet Saṁyogitā. Pṛthvīrāja along with Virasimha endeavours to meet Saṁyogitā at midnight.

In Act V, Saṁyogitā is suffering the pangs of separation. She is so disappointed that even the assurance of Karṇāṭakī, that is, Pṛthvīrāja is coming to see her, cannot make her happy. Pṛthvīrāja secretly enters the palace of Saṁyogitā and they get married then and there by the rite of *gāndharva* form of marriage.

The interlude of Act VI informs us about Pṛthvīrāja's fight with the guards and his killing them when he goes out of the palace to arrange for a safe escort for Saṁyogitā. Karṇāṭakī bids farewell to them and discloses the fact that she also is in love with Pṛthvīrāja and wants to remain with him. Pṛthvīrāja happily agrees and engages her as an incharge of his harem. Pṛthvīrāja promises to invite all the friends of Saṁyogitā to Delhi at their proper marriage ceremony. The loving couple then departs for Delhi secretly.

In Act VII, Rāmaguru, the *parohita* of Pṛthvīrāja is worried when informed about Jayacanda's attack over Delhi. But Canda discloses to him that Jayacanda is actually eager to celebrate the marriage of his daughter. The marrying couple also comes to know of this fact and becomes happy. Jayacanda and Pṛthvīrāja meet each other cordially. After that one ascetic blesses the newly-weds, at which point, the *Bharatavākya* ends the play.

This is the theme of the play which Śrī Yājñika has titled *Saṁyogitā-svayamvara*, which is devoid of the description of *svayamvara*. It is obvious that Śrī Yājñika follows the traditional rule of entitling the work after the main incident of the play in accordance with the dictum of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* of Viśvanātha.⁴ But where is the main incident in the play?

The Sanskrit word 'svayamvara' can be rendered into English as 'self-choice' or 'self-selection.' Following the etymology- *svayam varati iti* we can ascertain the meaning of this concept as a kind of marriage in which a girl selects independently her bridegroom without consulting her elders.

4. *Kavervṛttasya vā nāmnā nāyakṣetarasya vā | nāmāsya sargopādeya-kathayā sarganāma tu.* Mahāpātra, Kavirāja Viśvanātha, *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Bharatiya Book Corporation, Delhi, 1988, Ch. VI, V-303, p. 366.

Svayamvara is very often spoken of in the literature of *Dharmasāstra*. It has many varieties. According to the *Manusmṛiti*⁵ and *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*⁶ the simplest form of *svayamvara* occurs when a girl, who attains puberty and whose father does not find a proper husband for three years, after this, herself seeks her husband. *Sāvitrī* has accepted this type of *svayamvara* when she goes about in a chariot to find a suitable husband for herself. Other type of *svayamvara* is that of *Sītā* or *Draupadī*, in which the choice of husband does not depend upon the will of bride but upon the fulfilment of a stipulated condition. In this type of *svayamvara* the bride is given in marriage to the man, who fulfils the given condition. In another type of *svayamvara* *Damayantī* and *Indumati*, themselves select their husbands without any condition being stipulated.

These are the types and meanings of *svayamvara* we generally understand from the term. In the instances of many of *svayamvaras* of our ancient heroines, such as *Sītā*, *Draupadī*, *Damayantī*, *Indumati* and such others we see that various kings of different countries are invited and assembled in a big hall from which the bridegroom is selected. Sometimes, the princess comes there with a garland in her hands and accompanied by a friend, who explains to her the merits of this or that king and the princess puts the garland round the neck of the king whom she likes most. In some cases certain condition is stipulated and the king, who fulfils that condition wins the hand of the princess.

None of these characteristics are found in this play of *Śrī Yājñika*. The *svayamvara* of *Samyogitā* in any of these senses just does not exist. There is no assembly, no candidates for marriage, no condition nor any friend to describe the qualities of the would-be groom. Can we call this a *svayamvara* at all? Is there any justification of the title "the *svayamvara* of *Samyogitā*"? Is it reasonable to speak of the secret marriage of *Samyogitā* with *Prthvirāja* as a kind of *svayamvara*? Any serious reader is bound to wonder how, without the depiction of any type of *svayamvaras* mentioned above in the whole of the play, the title can be shown to stand to any reason.

5. *Trīṇi varṣānyudikṣeta kumāryrtumatiṃ satī | urdhvam tu kālāde tasmād-vindyeta sadṛśam patim*, *Manusmṛiti*. Chawkhamba Sanskrit Sansthan, Varanasi, 1970, IX, 90.

6. *Trīṇi varṣānrtumatiṃ kākṣeta pītṛśāsanam tataścaturthe varṣe tu vindeta sadṛśam patim*, Pandeya, U C., ed. *The Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra* with the *Vivarana* commentary, The Kashi Sanskrit Series, 104, The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1972, IV.1.15.

In the literature of *Dharmaśāstra* eight types of marriages are well-known among the *dharmasūtrakāras*.⁷ But *svayamvara* is not included among them. How do we account for this form of marriage?

A little reflection will show that the *svayamvara* can be included in the *gāndharva* form of marriage. There is also a rather stray evidence to this effect. In Mitra Miśra's *Viramitrodaya* commentary on *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, *Svayamvara* is identified with the *gāndharvavivāha*. To quote:

*evam ca svayamvaropi gāndharvavivāha eva*⁸.

If we accept this evidence as correct, it will lead us to a peculiar position. For *Gāndharvavivāha* is a marriage of the girl's self-choice (without regard to the consent of her parents). It could even be a secret marriage,⁹ but to extend the meaning of the term to the *svayamvara* will be little too much. It can be so extended only in view of the etymological meaning of the term, but not if we consider its generally accepted connotation. And *Viramitrodaya* commentary does exactly that. There is certainly an element of 'self-choice' in the examples of *svayamvaras* mentioned above, but there are also other elements of assemblage of princes by invitation, and stipulation of condition; and as such these elements are more important in the connotation of the term than the simple element of 'self-choice,' which is common with the *gāndharvavivāha* also.

Now, to view the play SS in the light of this clarification: *Prthivīrāja* and *Samyogitā* do get married in the secrecy with the help of *Karṇāṭakī*. There is the element of self-choice in this marriage also, it also initially takes place in secrecy. We can classify it as '*gāndharvavivāha*.' But that hardly justifies the employment of the term '*svayamvara*' in the title. There has been only some talk of *svayamvara* (in Act I) but not an actual *svayamvara*. To justify the title of the play as given by its author, we, therefore, must of necessity to fall back not upon the generally prevalent but only upon the etymological sense of the term.

The author himself is also aware of this difficulty of justifying his title. He makes one of his characters, Jayacanda, the father of the eloping daughter, saying :

7. *Brāhma daivastathaivarṣaḥprajāpauyastathāsuraḥ | gāndharvo rākṣasa-ścaiva paśacāṣṭamo'dhamah || Manusmṛti, Op. Cit. III.21*

8. *Evam ca svayamvaropi gāndharvavivāha eva, Yājñavalkyasmṛti* with *Viramitrodaya*, Commentary of Mitra Miśra and *Mitākṣarā* Commentary of Vijñāneswara, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Benaras, 1930, Ch. I, V-61, p. 125

9. *Ichhāyā'nyonyasamyogah kanyāyāśca varasya ca | gāndharvas sa tu vigñeyo maithunyaḥ kāmsambhvaḥ || Manusmṛti, Op. Cit. III. 32*

*mitho'nurāgābhyudayapraharṣitah
 svayaṁvarāṁ me tanayāṁ samarpya /
 samrāṭ svayaṁ vikramaśāline te
 kṛtārthatāmdya gato'smi sāvayah¹⁰ //*

The author here seems to make an attempt to justify the title chosen by him for the play. But the attempt itself betrays the author's awareness of the problem.

In this connection, a remark of Prof. P. V. Kane about the historical incident of Pṛthvīrāja's abduction of Saṁyogitā will be of interest to us. He says: "Another and a very famous historic example of the *rākṣasa* form (of marriage) is the forcible abduction after a most dashing and valiant fight by Pṛthvīrāja Chohan of the daughter of Jayachandra, the king of Kanoj. It is said that the daughter of Jayachandra was a consenting party; in that case this would be a mixture of the two forms of *gāndharva* and *rākṣasa* (*Manusmṛti* III. 26).¹¹"

It is clear, however, that what Prof. Kane refers to is the historic incident of Saṁyogitā's abduction by Pṛthvīrāja and not to any incident of this play.

Our position, therefore, stands vindicated that the title of the play SS is only feebly justifiable in view of the etymological sense of the term *svayaṁvara* and not of the full connotation of the term.

10. Ynjaik, Mulshankara Maneklal, *Saṁyogitāsvayaṁvaram*, The Baroda Printing Press, Baroda, 1928, V 13, p 98

11. Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Part-I, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. II, Poona, 1974, p. 522-523

Review Article

NEW EXPERIMENTS IN KĀLIDĀSA –A REVIEW*

By

S. G. KANTAWALA†

The twentieth century A.D. has witnessed a remarkable growth in the creative activity in the various fields of Sanskrit literature. "Sanskrit is not lagging behind in the field of creative art.... Contemporary poets and dramatists, critics and artistes are continuing to enrich the bulk of Sanskrit literature in their new thoughts, methodologies and modern techniques". (Ramaranjan Mukherji, *General President's Address*, Proceedings of the AIOC, 35th Session, Gurukul Kangri, Haridwar, November 16-18, 1990; published by Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1994, p. 17). If the two great national epics of India, viz. the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, have served as the inspirative sources for some of the later Sanskrit writers, Kālidāsa is an additional source which has served and is serving as a fertile source of inspiration to several creative writers even in the twentieth century A.D. In the case of the writers in modern times influenced by Kālidāsa "the muse of the later creative writers has meandered in different directions to have something new from the works of Kālidāsa, to add something to them, to give a new turn to them, to twist them to do all it possibly could to carry out new experiments with them. (This explains the title of the book.) (bracket ours). The result: The emergence of a whole class of literature which though hung on the peg of Kālidāsa has such an enormous variety and sweep to compel the appreciative notice of lovers of literature". (Introduction, p. xxx). The output is about some seventy works, which cannot be said to be a very small number.

It will not be out of place to refer here to the genesis of the book under review. In 1973 the author of the book i.e. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri was invited by the Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapith [now the Kendriya Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapith (Deemed University)], Tirupati to deliver lectures under its *Śārādhya-Jñāna-Mahotsava* programme, [vide *Kālidāsa in Modern Sanskrit Literature, Kālidāsa Studies* (= KS) I, Delhi, 1991, Preface, p. v; KS II, Preface, p. v] and he selected the present interesting theme, viz. "Kālidāsa".
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* *New Experiments in Kālidāsa (Plays)* (*Kālidāsa Studies II*) by SATYA VRAT SHASTRI, (published by Eastern Book Linkers, Delhi, India), First Edition, 1994, Price: Rs. 400-00; pp. xxx + 354.

† "Shri-Ram", Kantareswar Mahadev's Pole, Bajwada, Baroda-1.

in Modern Sanskrit Literature," i.e. modern Sanskrit works related to Kālidāsa and his works. By his diligent and painstaking hunt and research he came to have about "some seventy works" (KS II, Preface, p. v) as noted earlier on the said theme. He decided then to split their study in three volumes (*ibid*, p. v) on the basis of their literary form. The study of the plays is presented in this volume under review. Works under the category of poems and other literary forms are reserved for a separate volume (*vide* KS II, p. v). For ready reference and information the titles of the works dealt with in the KS I and the KS II are mentioned herebelow. In the KS I the author has given the critical appraisal of the following 14 works which are published during period of 1979 A.D. to 1984 A. D. :—

- (1) *Kālidāsacaritam* by S. B. Velankar, (2) *Kālidāsa* by Vaneshwar Pathak, (3) *Kālidāsapāṇikaraṇam* by Sabhanath Pathak, (4) *Kālidāsagauravam* by Jivanath Jha Sharma, (5) *Mahākavi-Kālidāsam* by Srivijaya Nyāyatīrtha, (6) *Kavi-Kālidāsam* by B. K. Bhattacharya, (7) *Kavikulakokilam* by Roma Chaudhuri, (8) *Kālidāsakāvyaśambhavam* by Mathura Datt Pandey, (9) *Asti-kaścid-vāg-viśeṣaḥ* by Maheshwar Shastri N. Joshi, (10) *Asi-kaścid-vāgarthīyam* by Krishna Kumar, (11) *Vidyottamā-Kālidāsiyam* by Acharya Ram Krishna Mishra, (12) *Kavikālidāsiyam* by Vina Pani Patni, (13) *Śrikālidāsiyam antimam aitithyam* by Narayana (14) *Śrikālidāsacarita-saṅgrahaḥ* by Y. Mahalinga Shstri.

The study of the abovementioned each work is given under three heads: (i) Introductory, (ii) Theme and (iii) Critical appreciation. These plays belong to a period between 1919 and 1984 A.D. as noted above.

In the book under review the author has presented in a lucid language the critical study of 41 (40 + 1) plays based on (i) the legends about Kālidāsa and (ii) based on his works. These fortyone plays are classed into the following categories as under :—

I. *Supplements to the Works of Kālidāsa :*

- (1) *Meghadūtottaram* by S. B. Velankar, (2) *Meghamedura-medinīyam* by Roma Chaudhuri, (3) *Meghadūtānvitam* by S. B. Velankar, (4) *Yakṣa-śāpaḥ* by Indermohan Singh (5) *Prasanna-Kāśyapam* by Jaggu Vakulabhusana.

II. *Adaptations of the Works of Kālidāsa*

- (6) *Raghuvāṁśam* by Srijiva Nyāyatīrtha, (7) *Svapna-Raghuvāṁśam* by J. B. Chaudhuri, (8) *Kumārasambhavam* by Srijiva Nyāyatīrtha, (9) *Pārvatī-Parameśvarīyam* by Vanamala Bhawalkar, (10) *Nāṭyarūpaṁ Meghadūtam* by Vishvanath Keshav Chatre Shastri, (11) *Āśāḍhasya Prathamadivase* by S. B. Velankar, (12) *Meghadūtam* by Nityananda Smṛtīrtha, (13) *Meghadūtam* by Shiva Prasad Bharadwaj, (14) *Śakuntalam* by Ramavatar Mishra

(15) *Śākuntala-nṛtya-nāṭikā* by Gajendrashankar Lalshankar Pandya, (16) *Nṛtya-nāṭya-Śākuntalā* by S. B. Velankar, (17) *Vikramorvaśīyasya Dhvanināṭya-rūpāntaram* by Rama Kant Shukla.

III. Adaptations of the Episodes from the Works of Kālidāsa :—

(18) *Nandīnīvarapradānam* by Vishvanath Keshav Chatre Shastri, (19) *Kautsasya Gurudakṣiṇā* by Vasudev Dwivedi, (20) *Vīravādānyam* by Chandika Prasad Shukla, (21) *Gurudakṣiṇā* by Yaduvamsh Mishra, (22) *Gurudakṣiṇā* by Ogeti Parikshit Sharma, (23) *Gurudakṣiṇānāṭakam* by Gangesh Mishra, (24) *Indumatī-parinayaḥ* by Narayana Mishra, (25) *Sītātṛyāgaḥ* by Achut Tatyaao Bobade Majalgaonkar, (26) *Sītātṛyāgaḥ* by K. T. Pandurangi, (27) *Rativijayam* by K. S. Ramaswami Shastrigal, (28) *Punaḥsaṅgamah* by Anand Jha, (29) *Madana-dahanam* by Ramesh Kher, (30) *Madana-dahanam* by Rishi Maharaj, (31) *Kāma-dahanam* by E. P. Bharata Pisharoty, (32) *Pārvatī-tapaścaryā* by Nalini Shukla, (33) *Tapah-phalam* by K. T. Pandurangi.

IV. Miscellaneous works with Kālidāsan Background :—

(34) *Chāyāśākuntalam* by J. T. Parikh, (35) *Premapāṣitah Śāraṅgaravaḥ* by K. Chandrasekhar, (36) *Svapnavilasitam* by S. G. Desai, (37) *Antarvāhini* by K. N. Vasudeva Sarma, (38) *Mānasaśākuntalam* by J. A. Bhatt, (39) *Kāśyapā-bhīṣāpam* by Abhiraj Rajendra Mishra, (40) *Kālidāsamahotsvam* by Hari Ramchandra Divekar, (41) *Vidyottamā* by Abhiraj Rajendra Mishra. (This forms the Appendix, pp. 345-354).

The Appendix is followed by the bio-information of the author and the present work.

Two Indices deal with the works studied titlewise and authorwise (pp. 327-342). The perusal of these "Indices" shows that these plays are published in different journals from different places during the period of 1923 to 1993 A.D. Two of these plays are in manuscript. One feels that if these plays are made available in one volume, it will mean a convenient and an easy approach to them for the lovers of Sanskrit in general and to the lovers of drama in particular, as it is well-known that all the journals are not easily available or are well nigh non-available at several places.

In the Introduction (pp. xiii-xxx) the author offers succinct critical comments on each play dealt with in this book. Thereafter the detailed and critical study is presented playwise under three heads: (1) Introductory, (2) Summary/Theme of the play and (3) Critical appreciation. The author has not only given the contents exhaustively but he has richly and liberally illustrated also his remarks and observations by citing quotations in original in extenso. One misses a bio-sketch of the playwrights concerned. These

plays range from one act to seven acts in length. Some of these plays are operas, ballets or radio-plays *etc.* and some consist of scenes only. In some plays modern theatrical technique of light and shadow is also employed. The critical appreciation/critique of the play contains observations on the originality and indebtedness of the author/authoress concerned, characterisation, remarks from the Sanskrit dramaturgical point of view, language and style, grammar and metre, *etc.* His remarks in the domain of grammar are significant and interesting, *e.g.* about indefensible forms from the Pāṇinian stand-point, obliteration of the *pada*-distinction, violations from the point of syntax and case-relations *etc.*, translation-phrases from English and/or under the influence of the regional language/mother-tongue, change of usage, *i.e.* an agent-noun becoming an action-noun, phenomenon of loan and borrowing *etc.* All these aspects have a close relationship with the modern Sanskrit language. Deviation from Pāṇini is not a new phenomenon; it is noticed even in the works of ancient and medieval times. The bard has also erred some times from the Pāṇinian stand-point. (*vide* S. P. Narang, *Kālidāsa Bibliography*, Delhi, 1976, pp. 307 ff).

The book makes an interesting and inspiring reading and the author deserves our heartiest congratulations and commendations for giving us a very valuable study and we look forward to have further volumes on the remaining works at the earliest. The publisher also deserves our congratulations for an illustrated cover-page and a beautiful getup of the book coupled with decent print.

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REVIEWS

Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor Kuppaswami Śāsrī Birth Centenary Commemoration Volume Part-II Ed. by Dr. S. S. JANAKI, Pub:—The Kuppaswami Shastri Research Institute, Madras, 1985, pp. i-xi + 1-320, Price, Rs. 95/-

Mn. Professor Kuppaswami Shastri (1880-1943) was a versatile genius who besides being in command of various subjects, such as, Vedic studies, grammar, poetics, linguistics, history, text-criticism, mythology, philosophy and different subjects of Arts, was one of the pioneers to establish modern critical methodology in the field of Sanskrit and other related fields connected with Indology.

In the present volume published in his sacred memory whose disciples among others are Dr. V. Raghavan, Dr. C. Sivaramamurti, Pt. D. T. Tatacharya, Pt. A. Chinnaśwami and Pt. V. A. Ramaswami Shastri, who have made their niche in the field of oriental studies. there are very good research articles which are studied and throw adequate light on topics covering almost all subjects under the discipline of Oriental Studies and Indology.

The following is the list of papers with their authors —

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13. Tamil Element in Śrīvaiṣṇavism—Dr. A. Thiruvengadathan

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31. Grant, Resumption and Regrant (A historical case study based on
Pandyan Inscriptions of the 11th and early 12th Centuries)—Sri R.
Thirumalai

The above mentioned articles cover a wide range of subjects from the vedas and grammar to music and epigraphy and are well-documented and throw new light in their respective fields.

The volume is a valuable addition to the subjects related to the field of Indological studies and will definitely prove to be useful to the students and scholars working in the said field.

Vadodara,
30-5-95

R. T. VYAS

Studies in Post-Śaṅkara Dialectics, by ASHUTOSH BHATTACHARYA, Shri Satguru publications, Delhi, First published in Calcutta, Second Edition, 1986, pages i xxii + 1-322, Price: Rs. 150/-

Advaita-Vedānta is based on the direct, personal and intuitive experience of the non-dual reality—the self by the Vedic Seers and sages. Its philosophic and religious implications were worked out in the Upaniṣadic age. Its broad outline was drawn by Gauḍapādācārya in his *prakaraṇa* entitled “*Māṇḍūkya-kārikā*”, and it was constructed into a full-fledged system of thought by Ādya Śaṅkarācārya in his commentaries on *Prasthānatraya*, and was popularised by him through his numerous *prakaraṇas* and *stotras*. His followers, especially, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, Śrīharṣa and Citsukhācārya made it stand on sound logical footing by employing dialectical methodology of reasoning, though in its essential experiential form, it is beyond the avenue of speech and thought.

This work is a little modified form of the thesis submitted by the author to the University of Calcutta in 1933 for the award of doctorate degree. It is divided into eight chapters mainly dealing with the theory of knowledge—the nature and self-validity of knowledge—and the relative status of phenomenal appearance from the standpoint of *Advaita* epistemology. Human reason, according to *Advaita* system of thought, is incapable of comprehending the Ultimate Reality, still, in the initial stages of the seeker's spiritual development, reason plays a vital role, because intellectual understanding of the reality is the very foundation on which the superstructure of realization is built. For the purpose of this rational clarity, the protagonists of the non-dualism, had to take recourse to logical polemics especially with a view to refuting the charges levelled against the *Advaita* system by the followers of rival schools of thought. Vyāsarāja, a follower of Madhva's dualism, in his *Nyāyāmṛta* raised serious objections regarding the *locus* and the nature of *māyā*. Madhusūdana Sarasvatī in his *Advaitasiddhi* attempted to refute them. Śrīharṣa in his *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhāḍya* tried to demolish the categories of the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* realism. And Citsukhācārya in his celebrated work—*Tattvapradīpikā* attempted to deal with both the abovementioned types of arguments and establish the *Advaita* viewpoint. Mainly these three thinkers carried the post-Śaṅkara dialectics to perfection. The author of the present work has mainly applied his attention to these three savants of *Advaita* system.

The study is objective and authentic as it rests on the original texts. It covers a field which indeed needed a thorough and critical appraisal. The two indices enhance the academic value of the work.

R. T. VYAS

Vadodara,
17-5-1995

Philosophy in India: Traditions, Teaching and Research, by K. Satchidananda Murty, Pub.: Indian Council of Philosophical Research, and Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1985, pp. i-xi + 1-237, Price : Rs. 90/-.

The author of the present monograph was requested by Unesco to prepare a "country-report" on teaching and research in philosophy in India on the basis of a distinctly formulated questionnaire and specific guidelines. Accepting that request he attempted to organise and express his thinking and experience in this field for more than four decades and did more than what was required. As a result, we have this excellent short work which is quite comprehensive, educative, objective and authentic. It is eminently readable and stimulates one to think on new lines through which India's traditional philosophical thinking may proceed and break new ground of original theoretical, conceptual formulation. The author has revised the original write-up; some chapters have been rearranged and much of the matter in the third chapter and the two appendices to the fourth and the sixth chapters are newly added.

The work provides an outline, rather rapid survey, of Indian philosophical thought from ancient to modern times preserved in the texts of various systems and schools. The contents of the work follow this sequence:—The meaning and role of philosophy in Indian culture as evinced in its historical development from the early Vedic era to the 18th century A.D., brief account of philosophical insights traced in Indian vernaculars, summary of contribution of modern Indian thinkers—Hindu and non-Hindu, academic and non-academic, aiming at interpretation and characterization of Indian philosophical systems, survey of present philosophical situation in India, a delineation of the problems of professional philosophers, indicating the need to develop theoretical thinking on further lines left over by the medieval theorists and commentators, an analytical presentation of the issues involved in teaching and research in philosophy in the modern Indian Universities and Institutions.

The work supplies sufficient stimulation for the professional as well as non-professional persons engaged and interested in the field of Indian philosophical thought, teachers, especially, researchers and students.

The bibliography, the name-Index and the subject-Index added at the end of the book increase its academic value.

Vadodara,
24-5-1995

R. T. Vyas

Sahajiyā Cult of Bengal and Pancha sakhā Cult of Orissa by Shri PARITOSH DAS, pub. by Firma KLN Pvt. Ltd, 257 B., B. B. Ganguly Street, Calcutta-700012, pp. i to xii + 1-68, Price Rs. 80/-

The book has been an attempt to lay down the essential beliefs, practices and main upholders of Vaiṣṇava religion, especially Sahajiyā cult in Bengal and later on there is a comparison with Pañca Sakhā Cult of Orissa. The author has done a care-taking and thorough work in bringing out the depth of *Vaiṣṇava* religion and its practices prevalent in traditional Indian religion. *Vaiṣṇava* Sahajiyās is a special sect prevalent in Bengal and its practices as the name suggests are wedded to life-affirming religion. As the study of religion consists of its philosophy, theology, literary tastes and cultural traits, Sahajiyā shade of *Vaiṣṇavism* has too its multiple sections of life and its various parts. The author is well acquainted with its literature and its propounders in the tradition. It is not easy to select specific relevant books and authors out of several sources of the cult and religion in general. The merits of the cult are mainly revolving round the original *Vaiṣṇava* religion which is the heart of Hindu religion and tradition.

Vaiṣṇava religion is not only its rituals and practices which have its sources in Epics, Purāṇas and tradition of Bhāgavata in its historical, lineage but it has its own literary pursuit expressed in poetry and aesthetic appreciation. The main inspirational root lies in the life and incarnational role of Lord Krishna in the traditional and cultural life of India. The life and activities of Lord Krishna have been narrated in *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and accordingly the multiple practices follow the truth and value of Lord Krishna's manifestation in historical events of Indian tradition.

The author has brought out the details of these practices which throw light on the literature of Sahajiyās and their day-to day life depicting ethics and religion. Besides this author has also dealt with other faiths of religions in India such as Sahajiyā Buddhists, Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇavas and others which have intimate relationship with belief in personal God and the act of direct manifestation for positive role in cosmic life.

A comparative undertaking of different faiths has been a salient character of the book and in that way the book has been a noted addition in comparative religion. It shows that Buddhist religion and philosophy are not as they are said to be, atheistic and nihilistic but they are enthused with worship, surrender and practices of adoring personal God as well as saviour of mankind.

The major part of the book has been devoted to the treatment of Sahajiyā cult and its relationship with Buddhism and hence in the beginning the author has given thought to the development of Buddhism in Bengal. The renunciation-spirit among the monks of Buddhist religion attracted the people largely and the kings of Bengal revered these monks and monastery of Buddhism. It is revealing

that Buddhism had its own connection with Tantric practices and literature. It is known that Tantras have their ancient traditions in Indian antiquity and its beliefs as well as practices have large influence on Hindu, Jain and Buddhist religions. The author has done remarkably well in shedding light on the relation between Buddhist religion and Tantric tradition and worship. The author has made detailed study of Vajrayāna Buddhism which was prevalent in Bengal in middle ages. He has narrated the happenings in Takshasheela and Nalanda Universities in northern India and has connected the work of the-then scholars with the development of Buddhist religion in those areas. It may be noted that Vajrayānis regard *Prajñāpāramitā* as the 'consort' of Buddha. She was also regarded by them as the mother of the universe. The statue of *Prajñāpāramitā* seated on a lotus-flower in the pose of a yoginī was made during the period of the Pāla dynasty. There are museums in Bengal where many interesting images of Gods belonging to the Tantric Buddhism can be discerned.

Besides this the two schools of Buddhism, Mādhyamika and Yogācāra, developed vastly during the Gupta periods. The author has shown that Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyās of Bengal inherited the Tantric tradition of accepting Śakti in their mystic culture of Yoga and practised it secretly even they were amalgamated with Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism. The practice prevalent among the Sahajiyās is that each disciple belonging to this school is allowed to accept Śakti or *Sādhanaśaigini* for practising Yoga. Introduction of *Dhyānī* Buddhas may be considered to be a landmark in the development of the Tantric culture among the Buddhists. When we investigate the origin of the Dhyānī Buddhas according to the conception of *Guhyasamāja* school we find in the *saṅgiti* that a single power called *Kāyavakcitta-vajradhara* that is the holder of the *vajra* consisting of the three elements *Kāya* (body), *vāc* (speech) and *citta* (mind) the embodiment of the Buddha—manifests itself in the form of the dhyānī Buddhas and their Śakti. *Vajra* is called *Sūnya* also and that is why it is called *Vajrayāna* Buddhism. This however is different from the *śūnya* of mādhyamikās as it includes the three elements *śūnya* (reality), *viññāna* (consciousness) and *mahāsukha* (great bliss). The author has also explained the relationship between *Nātha sampradāya* and *Vajrayāna* Buddhism. They were also the disciples of Buddha, Hindus did not look upon them with favour. *Vajrayāna* gave rise to several later *yānas* (paths) such as the *sahajayāna*, *kālacakrayāna* and *mantrayāna*. There is a mention of Nāgārjuna as elaborator of Tantric idea and works. He is different from Nāgārjuna who flourished in second century A.D. This Nāgārjuna flourished in seventh century A.D.

The author has brought to light the travel of Chinese pilgrims such as Huen-tsang, Hi-Fien and I-tsang and has brought their bearings upon the spread of Buddhism in Bengal. The author has urged to 'rewrite' the history of India in

religious perspective. After the aggression of Muslims and conflict between Brahmins and Buddhists there came a period of assimilation in Bengal. The Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā cult, Baul sect, Dharma cult, Nāth cult and various others were the outcome of such a popular assimilation. In Orissa 'Pañca Sakhā Dharma' and 'Mohimā Dharma' are also the outcome of such synthesis. The author has drawn during discussion the import of 'Dharma cult' which merged in Bengal as a result of decline in Buddhism and rise of Muslim religion. There is later discussion regarding the nature of *Bhakti* in Buddhism, comparison between Buddhism and *Vedānta*, *Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas* and rise of Caitanya Mahāprabhu in Orissa and this has been done by the author with considerable search and insight. It seems that the author intends to bring out the devotional elements embedded in Buddhism and owing to this similar features with Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal and in Hinduism, it (Buddhism,) could not last longer on the soil of Bengal.

The influence of Caitanya on the masses and intellectual life of Orissa has been shown in detail by the author and he has discussed it in the context of the sect of Pañca sakhā in Orissa. The philosophy of love and spiritual attitude have been elucidated by the author with proper style and context of the authority such as Caitanya and his associates such as Ramananda Roy and Raghunath Das. The discussion on the topics of *Jīva*, liberation, withdrawal, non-attachment and devotion is indeed helpful and it may require a separate quarter for its conclusions and bearings on Hindu philosophy. It seems that the author is acquainted with poetry and linguistic details so as to compare literary aesthesis with religious psychology. He has attempted to relate the religious movement with the practice of Yoga and Tāntric techniques. For those who intend to know about the development of Tāntric guidance in traditional Indian religion, this discussion is quite useful.

In the final chapter on Pañca sakhā cult, the author has elaborated it mentioning several writers and protagonists in Orissa. There is an attempt to connect it with the rise of Buddhism and its impact on its spread in Bengal and in Orissa. It is difficult to rely on stories and anecdotes he has narrated and from certain conversations of Buddha with certain merchants and has accordingly tried to derive its impact on ethics in the life of Bengal and Orissa. However, the implicit influence of the teachings of Lord Buddha has remained on religious development in India. Early Buddhism did preserve the main principles of Aryan religion. It is the later Buddhism which developed '*Śūnyavāda*' and the concept of *saṃvṛtti*. The author refers to the works of Achyutananda Das and has drawn parallel between Pañca Sakhā and Buddhist religion in Orissa. Even as late in seventeenth century Buddhism had had its flourishing in Orissa. This is learnt in the biography of Buddha-Guptanath. The connection between Puri and religion of Pañcha Sakhā as well as Buddhist monasteries has been built up by the author.

It seems that the author is keen to show the identity among Buddha, Jagannāth and Caitanya. The later generalisation expressed in the conclusion—'Out of these principal religious elements many popular religious sects like Brahmasamāja and Āryasamāja were developed in modern times'—shows inadequate reading of Hindu religion and its development by the author. It would be proper to avoid such sketchy general statements.

The book is an attempt to bring out comparative account between Buddhism, Vaiṣṇavism and general spirit of Hindu religion. It has elucidated the philosophical background of devotional spirit ingrained in these paths of religions and its success lies in drawing its bearing upon the spread of religion in Bengal and in Orissa.

24/4 Nutan Bharat Society
Alkapuri, Baroda-390 00J

H. M. JOSHI

Myths of Creation : edited by DR. (MRS.) S. S. DANGE, pub. by G. M. Rajarshi Registrar University of Bombay. Fort, Bombay 400032, 1987. pp. 8 + 1-74 Price : Rs. 25/-

Let the reviewer record at the outset the sense of injustice he feels in reviewing in 1995 a book published in 1987 incorporating ten papers on the subject of *Myths of Creation* read at a seminar held at the Department of Sanskrit, University of Bombay, on 17th March 1985.

Myths are to a race or society what dreams are to an individual, an imaginative mode of grasping reality. 'Creation' is an idea that first enters the mind of a child when he looks at a flower which was not on the plant a day before or at the stars twinkling in the sky. It was therefore quite an interesting effort made by Dr. Mrs. Dange, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Bombay, to arrange a seminar on the subject and present the papers read at it in a small book of seventy-four pages. *Myths of creation* presented in these pages range from those of Egypt, Israel, Greece, Babylonia, Assyria, Iran and (Aryan) India. A very special feature is a paper by Dr. S. A. Dange on tribal myths. There is no one among the paper-readers who has himself done any field-work on the subject. All material is based on books on myths collated by others.

The first five papers on the subject are on the myths of creation from the days of the Aryans to the time of the Jains. Hindu myths range from the *Rgveda*, the *Brāhmaṇa*-s the *Upaniṣad*-s, the *Epics* and the *Purāṇa*-s. The *Atharvaveda* and

the Buddhist literature go conspicuously unrepresented. There is no effort at any regional study, either by way of fusion or dispersion of races.

The study of myths formed an important part of the discipline of anthropology during the last century. Beginning with the study of primitive religion the study of myths became useful for philological and literary purposes. 'Etymological similarity' (p. 37), myths determining gender in language (p. 30), myths involving the notions of Egg (p. 32), Chaos, Incest, etc. are interesting for philological studies. J. G. Fraser's *The Golden Bough* (1911-36) formed the inspiration behind many literary masterpieces of modern times.

With dream-psychology entering the field, the study of myths became another important area of research. Myths came to be looked upon as early man's dreams of creation, destruction, etc. Their merger with each other as symbols involved within symbols gave a deeper insight into the primitive mind, its joys and fears. That led to the notion of the 'human' as evolving out of the primate stage. And thus myths assumed a very important place in man's mental evolution over the last fifty thousand years.

With structuralism the study of myths assumed a new dimension. Lévi-Strauss's contribution in this field are too well-known. The myth-making faculty of the human mind supplied Jung with a ready tool for probing the human mind in its abnormal states. Dreams—their expressions and repressions—form an important part of modern psycho-analytical studies and an important symbolic core of man's dreaming is still 'mythical'—water, serpent, blood, etc.

The scholars who read their papers at the seminar are aware of these themes to which mythology has given rise but no one appears to have made any effort to go into them beyond mere surface-skating, such as, 'This is a conceptual human-sacrifice' (p. 8), 'Thus there does lurk a shade of folk-beliefs in this myth-creation' (p. 8), 'It is sometimes seen to be ignoring the conventional logic of space and time relationship' (p. 23), etc. All is not myth in ancient texts. There is first an effort at symbolic representation; then follows a linear or cyclic weaving which assumes the form of a story; and lastly, an effort at meta-physical interpretation of the phenomena of Nature. There is an awareness on the part of some of the speakers at the Seminar of these differentiations e.g., 'semi-myth' (p. 7), 'myths attempting to explain the procedure of creation' (p. 22), 'one uniform pattern' (p. 22), 'pure and mixed myths' (p. 65), etc. But on the whole the quality of the papers is the same: they are made up of material, gathered by others, just put together without any original or critical effort of going into the depth of the theme, either by way of a socio-cultural reconstruction or structural exploration of diversity.

By far the best part of the book is contained in the concluding remarks of the Chairman, Dr. G. S. Bedekar. He has rightly pointed out a new way of research in the study of myths. So far as "the *muthos*, the content or the story side of the myth" (p. 70) is concerned," said he, "scholars have done a considerable amount of research" overlooking the other equally important aspect of it, namely, the *dromena*, the performance or the ritualistic side that can be enacted". India presents a rich field of explorations from this point of view. "To an Indian... everything that is past, or remotely past or even primitive, is far from being dead; somewhere in his unconscious mind it continues to exist and evokes a response. Even today some of our *poojas* are probably remnants of the old customs". (p. 70)

10, Mayur Apartment, Behind Parsi
Agiyari, Fatehgunj Baroda-390 002.

D. D. MAHULKAR

Mahāsubhāṣitasāṅgraha, compiled by Ludwik Sternbach, Vol. VI, *Subhāṣitas* nos. 9980-11491 (*Kim to Kai*), edited by S. BHASKARAN NAIR, published by Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1987, pp. i-xiv + 2663-3238, Price : Rs. 400/-.

The *Mahāsubhāṣitasāṅgraha* is a voluminous monumental project aiming at collecting, critically editing, translating and presenting in a systematic form in *Devanagari* alphabetical order, the metrical *subhāṣitas*, found in the extensive field of Sanskrit literature and also those from Greater India i.e. from countries like Tibet, Burma, Ceylon, Thailand, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos etc. The pioneering work of compilation was done by the late Dr. Ludwik Sternbach, which was later on authenticated and supplemented by Prof. S. Bhaskaran Nair by critically editing each *subhāṣita*, translating it into English and systematically presenting the huge project-material in the form of several volumes. The late Prof. Sternbach, Prof. S. Bhaskaran Nair and the VVRI form as it were a *trivenīsaṅgama* for the publication of the valuable treasure of ancient Indian wisdom.

Under the scholarly editorship of Prof. Nair, the five great volumes of the *Mahāsubhāṣitasāṅgraha* have already been published. This is the sixth one, incorporating *subhāṣitas* nos. 9980-11491 (i.e. 1512 verses + 77 extra) in its 592 pages. Prof. Nair has dedicated this volume to the memory of the late

Dr. Ludwik Sternbach in a very fine verse in *mālinī* metre, which is followed by a Foreword by Prof. Jagannath Agrawal, informing us about the project and acumen of Prof. Nair in editing these volumes. The volume begins with the verse no. 9980 starting with *Kim Kaṇṭakaiḥ* and ends with the verse no. 11491, which begins with *Kaiścid* etc. A systematic method is followed in presenting the collected material. Each verse is first printed in *Devanāgarī*. Then its source or sources are noted. The variants (if any) are exhaustively collected and systematically presented for each verse. It is followed by lucid English translation mostly by Prof. Nair. (Sometimes also by Dr. K. V. Sharma and the late Prof. A. A. Ramanathan. Sometimes also reproduced from works of other scholars with due acknowledgement of it by mentioning names of respective scholars at the end of the translation) The translation is succeeded by some important critical notes.

The volumes also incorporate at the end four useful appendices. Appendix I contains Abbreviations-cum-exhaustive bibliography of numerous primary and secondary works, utilized for the project, (pp. 3019-3094). Appendix II, incorporates in it an Index of authors and sources of individual verses, (pp. 3095-3150). Appendix III presents an Index of Sanskrit metres, utilized in each verse (pp. 3151-3158). The last IVth Appendix envisages the subject-Index for the volume.

The stupendous project is an outstanding, novel and unique contribution to the Sanskrit studies and Indology and its volumes have become a valuable, indispensable and veritable treasure for libraries of scholars of Sanskrit and Indology. The greatest zeal, incessant endeavour and enormous intellectual exercise of scholars are reflected in this gigantic and arduous task. Both the scholars and the Institute deserve our hearty congratulations for their success and we look forward to see the early publication of the remaining volumes.

M. L. WADEKAR

Oriental Institute, Baroda.

Vāstusāraprakaraṇam, a Prakṛt treatise on Vāstuśāstra, ascribed to Thakkura Feru, translated into English by Dr. R. P. Kulkarni, published by Sanskrit-Sanskriti-Samshodhikā Jñāna Prabodhini, Pune, May 1987, PP. ii-vii, pp. 1 + 101. Price: Rs. 75/-.

Dr. R. P. Kulkarni's English translation of Thakkura Feru's *Vāstusara-prakaraṇam*, is a welcome addition to the field of Indian Culture and Architecture.

Traditional Indian Art has come down to us from decades. A vast mass of literature on architecture and iconoplastic art has been discovered so far. These discoveries help us to understand the forgotten past. The findings on Śilpa—texts or what is today called in terms of Vāstuśāstra, have in fact opened a new horizon, especially in the area of traditional and medieval development in Indian art. From among those works a few need to be mentioned: *Vāstuprakāśa*, *Vāstuvidyā*, *Vāstusāra* by Sūtradhāraṃaṇḍana, *Samarāṅgaṇa-Sūtradhāra*, *Aparā-jitaprechā*, *Mānasāra* and *Prāsādamaṇḍana* etc. are all compiled in Sanskrit language. The name *Vāstuśāstra* emphasises the concept of utility. In these texts, architecture is taken in wider sense and so it implies what is built and constructed. It denotes all sorts of buildings—religious, residential alongwith their auxiliaries.

The canonical texts direct the artists to symbolize the visual form with their own imagination and innovation. The artistic monuments have fascinated the masses as well as the class of devotees; hence, they are crystallized over the centuries. Most of the śilpā—texts that have come down to us over the years retain elite language, except some like the present one; which is couched in Prakrit language. Of course, this fact is pinpointed in the introduction by Dr. Kulkarni. His attempt at taking recourse to other branch of literature has yielded the exploration of the evidences from non-canonical type Jain-literature to which art-historical approach may be applied.

No doubt, some scholars deserve to be noticed in this field who have contributed through the research papers or in the form of surveys. However, such intelligible and lucid translation highlighting cultural background is always welcome in this special area. Dr. R. P. Kulkarni has made substantial output to culture and creative activity by bringing out the utility, perhaps known among the practioners only. The scholar's profession has made him to enter into the subject which demands traditional method of construction and planning with accurate mathematical equations/proportions. The present scholar's study on sūtra literature especially about layout and construction of cities si quite well-known. This work is published in 1978.

The present translation of *Vāstusāraprakaraṇam* in English is concise, simple and reasonable. I hope, it will occupy a distinguished place in the field of plastic arts. This very Prakrit compilation is made for the beginners or the author's endeavours are shared with a warm enthusiasm by his son. The treatise is not in the sūtra form and giving instructions, rather it is an explanatory work which lets us know the basic formulas regarding the division of a circle into different geometrical shapes, the proportions of a Jina-idol, varieties of houses, which is missing or not mentioned in the Śilpa—texts.

The references to the composite structure appear to be ambiguous when the *paribhāṣās* or 'lingua technica' require exact understanding. In this book, the technical terms like *Dhruva*, *Jaya*, *Dhanada*, *Vijaya*, *Nanda*, *Buddhi*, *Vāsava*, *Pratāpavardhana*, *Gujārī*, *ajātis*, *Ālinda* and so on are made clear with the help of the diagrams. Thus, art—historians and modern architects both will find here interesting information and may be able to trace the development of architecture. We do come across a few temples erected with some variation in number and arrangements of the above—mentioned structure.

Moreover, a noteworthy feature of this work is that the verses no. 42 and 43 refer to as to how to ascertain the width and length of a temple on the basis of the number of *Hasta* (a kind of measurement). The reader is always puzzled over this problem while drawing the plan of different parts of a temple like *maṇḍapa*, *garbhagrha*, *antarāla*, *grāsapaṭṭī*, *grīvā* and what not ! All the *śilpa*—texts mention them in terms of *hastas* and do not prescribe their accurate or exact length or width so far as a structure is concerned. *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* (Chapter 5 a), *Aparājitaṭṭechā* (*Sūtra* 183) may be cited in support for this observation.

In this context the present translation will seek to fill up the gap and will lead to a fresh vision to the proportions. The structural aspects are made simple but comprehensive through the diagrams and tables. In a way the scholar inserts diagrams to show the exact intention of the author, which may be said to be the best way to introduce the problem with textual description.

Two appendices have been added in the book which relate to the main subject—matter.

Lastly, Dr. R. P. Kulkarni has not forgotten to refer to the indispensable work with Hindi translation by Pandit Bhagavandas Jain (Pub. 1936).

Once more the art—historians and art—lovers have reason to thank Dr. R. P. Kulkarni for providing valuable practical information by agreeably expressive diagrams. I hope the present translation will solve to some extent the ambiguity in *śilpa*—texts. We congratulate him and the publisher for quality—production of the volume.

Deptt. of Art History,
Faculty of Fine Arts,
M. S. Univ. of Baroda.
Baroda.

VAIJAYANTI NAVANGUL

Chinese Thought : An Introduction, Edited by DONALD H. BISHOP, Published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1985, pp. vi + 984, Price: Rs. 175/-.

This book under review embodies eighteen scholarly essays on the philosophies, philosophers and several streams of philosophical traditions of China. Like two earlier similar works by the same editor, this work is a co-operative venture. In this important volume, ten eminent scholars have written a whole series of brilliant and interesting essays covering every aspect of Chinese philosophical thought of ancient, medieval and modern periods. The Chinese philosophical tradition which consists of several streams, viz., Confucianism, Taoism, Monism, Buddhism, Neo-Confucianism and post-Neo-Confucianism and their flow which has been sustained by outstanding personages, viz., Confucius, Lao Tzu, Mo Tzu, and others are dealt with in this book, in a very systematic manner.

This work is primarily an introduction to the general Chinese thought which has influenced considerably the Chinese history and culture. It is not designed to be a critical and comprehensive study, nor is it planned to be a complete exposition of the views of Chinese philosophers. The objective of this book is to provide an introductory understanding of the philosophies which have determined Chinese culture.

The book is aesthetically designed and produced taste-fully. The get-up is very attractive.

It is beyond doubt that the work will be well-received in scholarly circles and by the students interested in Chinese philosophical thought and thinkers.

The editor, contributors and the publisher deserve our hearty congratulations for their substantial endeavour in bringing out such a valuable volume.

Dept. of Sk. Pali & Prakrit,
Faculty of Arts,
M. S. University of Baroda,
Baroda-390 002.

RABINDRA KUMAR PANDA

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3. *Offenbarungsgeschichte Alstext Religions Shermeneutische Bemerkungen Zum Phänomen in Hinduistischer Tradition* : Ed. by GERHARD OBERHAMMER, Pub. by Sammlung De Nobili, Institute Für Indologie der Universität Wien, Universitätsstra Be 7, A-1010 Wien, Austria. Europe, pp. 116, Price : Not mentioned.
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महामायाधि^{३४}ष्ठात्रीदेवतां प्रस्तुत्याह—ज्ञानिनामपीति—

ज्ञानिनामपि चेतांसि देवी भगवती हि सा ।

बलादाकृष्य मोहाय महामाया प्रयच्छति ॥ ४२ ॥

श्रुतवतां विवेकज्ञानवतामपि चेतांसि बलात्स्वसामर्थ्येनाकृष्य मोहायाविवेकाय प्रयच्छति । आगमादुत्पन्नज्ञानमपि विवेकज्ञानं निवारयतीत्यर्थः ।

तर्ह्य^{३५}निर्मोक्षप्रसङ्ग इत्याह—

तया विसृज्यते विश्वं त्रैलोक्यं सचराचरम् ।

सैषा प्रसन्ना वरदा नृणां भवति मुक्तये ॥ ४३ ॥

सैषेत्यादि । एषा महामायाधिष्ठात्री दुर्गाख्या देवता । प्रसन्ना नृणां मुक्तये संसारबन्धसाय भवतीति कस्य ?

विरुद्धयोर्वन्धमोक्षयोः कर्तृत्वानुपपत्त्यसमर्थ^{३६}यन्नाह—सा विद्येत्यादिना—

सा विद्या परमा मुक्तेर्हेतुभूता सनातनी ।

संसारबन्धहेतुश्च सैव सर्वेश्वरेश्वरी ॥ ४४ ॥

परमा अध्यात्मविद्या मुक्तेर्हेतुः । संसारबन्धहेतुश्चाविद्यारूपेणेत्यर्थः । रूपान्तरेण मोहयतीति । रूपान्तरेण बध्नातीत्यर्थः । यदाहुः—

“रूपैः सप्तभिरेवं बध्नात्यात्मानमात्मना प्रकृतिः ।

सैव [च]विशिनष्टि प्रधानपुरुषयोःन्तरं(पुरुषान्तरं) सूक्ष्मम् ॥

(सां.का. ६३)

सर्वेश्वराणामिन्द्रादीनामीश्वरी । उणादिकेन वरदा ईश्वरीति निष्पद्यते ।

अन्यत्रेश्वरे(री)ति महाविष्णोर्महामायेति सामान्यतोऽवगतम् । विशेष^{३७}बुभुत्सया राजोवाच—भगवन्निति—

राजोवाच—

भगवन्का हि सा देवी महामायेति यां भवान् ।

ब्रवीति कथमुत्पन्ना सा कर्मास्याश्च किं द्विज ॥ ४५ ॥

यत्स्वभावा च सा देवी यत्स्वरूपा यदुद्भवा ।

तत्सर्वं श्रोतुमिच्छामि त्वत्तो ब्रह्मविदां वर ॥ ४६ ॥

३४ ण in B. ३५ B om. from नि upto प्रसन्ना. ३६ mss. of this comm. read सैषा, while the printed text (Venk. ed.) reads सैव. ३७ A reads य in marg. B om. य. ३८ B इश्वरी. ३९ B बुभुत्सया.

ज्ञाने[न] शालिनः । अस्याः किं कर्मेति संवन्धः । यत्स्वभावा यदात्मिका । यत्स्वरूपा यद्धर्मिणी ।

ऋषिरुवाच—

नित्यैव सा जगन्मूर्तिस्तया सर्वमिदं ततम् ।
तथापि तत्समुत्पत्तिर्वहुधा श्रूयतां मम ॥ ४७ ॥
जगदेव मूर्तिर्यस्याः सा । तया तत् त्रिस्तुतं व्याप्तम् ।
देवानां कार्यसिद्ध्यर्थमाविर्भवति सा यदा ।
उत्पन्नेति तदा लोके सा नित्याप्याभिधीयते ॥ ४८ ॥
आविर्भवति गृहीतशरीरा भवति ।
योगनिद्रां यदा विष्णुर्जगत्येकार्णवीकृते ।
आस्तीर्य शेषमभजत्कल्पान्ते भगवान्प्रभुः ॥ ४९ ॥

जीवा हि निद्रयाभिभूयन्ते । भगवांस्तु ऐश्वर्यात्तां गृह्णाति । इति योगनिद्रोच्यते ।
शेषमनन्तम् । आस्तीर्य तल्पं रचयित्वा । कल्पान्ते ब्रह्मणो दिनान्ते । भगवानव्याहत-
ज्ञानैश्वर्यशाली ।

तदा द्वावसुरौ घोरौ विख्यातौ मधुकैटभौ ।
विष्णुकर्णमलोद्भूतौ हन्तुं ब्रह्माणमुद्यतौ ॥ ५० ॥
स नाभिकमले विष्णोः स्थितो ब्रह्मा प्रजापतिः ।
दृष्ट्वा तावसुरौ चोग्रौ प्रसुप्तं च जनार्दनम् ॥ ५१ ॥
बृहत्वाद् बृहणत्वाच्च ब्रह्मा । प्रजानां नियतकारित्वात्प्रजापतिः ।
तुष्ट्वा योगनिद्रां तामेकाग्रहृदयस्थितः ।
विबोधनार्थाय हरेर्हरिनेत्रकृतालयाम् ॥ ५२ ॥

एकाग्रहृदयोऽविक्षिप्तमनाः । नेत्रविशेषकृतास्पदत्वान्नेत्रकृतालया^{४१}मित्युक्तम् । यः
पृथिव्याद्यधिपतिरयोध्याधिपतिरुच्यते ।

भगवतः प्रबोधनार्थं देवीं स्तोतुं ब्रह्मोवाच—

ब्रह्मोवाच—

विश्वेश्वरीं जगद्धात्रीं स्थितिसंहारकारिणीम् ।
निद्रां भगवतीं विष्णोरतुलां तेजसः प्रभुः ॥ ५३ ॥

विश्वेश्वरीमित्यादि । जगद्धात्रीं जगज्जनयित्रीम् । इन्द्रियावरणहेतुस्तामसो वृत्तिविशेषो निद्रा । भगवतीमव्याहृतज्ञानैश्वर्यशालिनीं विष्णोर्निद्रामिति संबन्धः । गौडास्तु— विश्वेश्वरीं जगद्धात्रीं स्थितिसंहारकारिणीमिति पठित्वा निद्रां भगवतीं विष्णोरुत्तुलं तेजसः प्रभोरिति पठित्वा ब्रह्मोवाचेति पठन्ति ।

त्वं स्वाहा त्वं स्वधा त्वं हि वषट्कारस्वरात्मिका ।

सुधा त्वमक्षरे नित्ये त्रिधामात्रात्मिका स्थिता ॥ ५४ ॥

स्वाहा देवानां हविर्दानमन्त्रः । स्वधा पितृहविर्दानमन्त्रः । स्वर उदात्तादिः । तत्स्वरूपिणी । सुधा अमृतम् । अक्षरे नित्ये प्रणवाख्ये त्रिधामात्रात्मिका अकारोकारमकारात्मिका त्वं स्थिता ।

अर्धमात्रास्थिता नित्या यानुच्चार्याविशेषतः ।

त्वमेव सा त्वं सावित्री त्वं देवि जननी परा ॥ ५५ ॥

त्वयैतद्धार्यते विश्वं त्वयैतत्सृज्यते जगत् ।

त्वयैतत्पाल्यते देवि त्वमत्स्यन्ते च सर्वदा ॥ ५६ ॥

तास्वेव तिसृषु मात्रासु प्लुतेनोच्चार्यमाणास्तु यार्द्धमात्रा तुरीयाख्या सा त्वम् । या विशेषतोऽनुच्चार्यास्तिस्रो मात्रा विना उच्चारयितुं न शक्यते । सा त्वमित्यर्थः । यथाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—

तिस्रो साद्वा(र्द्धा)स्तु कर्तव्या मात्रास्तत्त्वार्थचिन्तकैः ।

देवताध्यानकालेन प्लुतं कुर्यान् संशयः ॥ (बृहद्दयो.या. २.६)

तथा—

तिस्रो मात्रा लयं यान्ति अर्धमात्रा न संशयः ॥

(बृहद्दयो.या. २.३२)

‘अक्षरे नित्ये’ इति सन्बोधनमित्यपि केचित् । सावित्री तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यमिति ऋक् (ऋ. ३.६२.१०) । हे देवि त्वं परा जननी अन्या जननी बध्नातीति त्वं बन्धं निवृत्तसीत्यतः श्रेष्ठा । त्वमन्ते अस्मि खादसि ।

विसृष्टौ सृष्टिरूपा त्वं स्थितिरूपा च पालने ।

तथा संहतिरूपान्ते जगतोऽस्य जगन्मये ॥ ५७ ॥

विसृष्टौ सृष्टिकाले । एवमुत्तरयोरपि । जगन्मये जगत्स्वरूपिणि । छान्दसमनदा(द्या)-दित्वम् ।

महाविद्या महामाया महामधा महास्मृतिः ।
महामोहा च भवती महादेवी महासुरी ॥ ५८ ॥

महाविद्या एकान्तविद्या । महामाया "विष्णोर्जगज्जननिका शक्तिः ।" महास्मृतिरतीतकल्प-
"सहस्रवृत्तान्तप्रबोधः । महामोहा अविच्छिन्नात्मनो छ(छि)न्नात्मनोऽऽत्मा(त्म)विवेकप्रवाहः ।
महादेवी महादेवदयिता उमेत्यर्थः ।

प्रकृतिस्त्वं हि सर्वस्य गुणत्रयविभाविनी ।
कालरात्रिर्महारात्रिर्मोहरात्रिश्च दारुणा ॥ ५९ ॥

यस्यां राज्यां प्राणिनो म्रियन्ते, सा कालरात्रिः । महारात्रिर्ब्रह्मवर्षशतावसाना निशा ।
मोहरात्रिरविद्या । दारुणा दुरतिक्रमा ।

त्वं श्रीस्त्वमीश्वरी त्वं हीस्त्वं बुद्धिर्बोधलक्षणा ।
लज्जा पुष्टिस्तथा तुष्टिस्त्वं शान्तिः क्षान्तिरेव च ॥ ६० ॥

श्रीः कमला संपदुपा वा । हीः कार्यनिवृत्तिः । बुद्धिर्महत्तत्त्वं बोधलक्षणा अध्यव-
सायजनिका । स्त्रीकृत्यपरविषयज्ञानजं दुःखं लज्जा । पुष्टिरुपचयः । तुष्टिस्तोषः । विषयेभ्य
इन्द्रियोपरतिः शान्तिः । अत्यन्ताक्रोशताडनादौ मर्षणं क्षान्तिः ।

खड्गिनी शूलिनी घोरा गदिनी चक्रिणी तथा ।
शङ्खिनी चापिनी बाणभुशुण्डीपरिधायुधा ॥ ६१ ॥

भुशुण्डीपरिधावस्त्रविशेषौ । बाणभुशुण्डीपरिधान्यायुधानि यस्या इति विग्रहः ।

सौम्या सौम्यतराशेषसौम्येभ्यस्त्वतिसुन्दरी ।
परापराणां परमा त्वमेव परमेश्वरी ॥ ६२ ॥

सौम्याऽक्षोभकरी । सौम्यतरा सौम्ययोरजिता । अशेषसौम्येभ्य उपात्तेभ्योऽतिसुन्दरी
सौम्यतरा इत्यर्थः ।

यच्च किञ्चित्कचिद्वस्तु सदसद्वाखिलात्मिके ।
तस्य सर्वस्य या शक्तिः सा त्वं किं स्तूयसे तदा ॥ ६३ ॥

सद्भाव एव रूपं वा तस्य भावाभावरूपस्य वस्तुनो या शक्तिः कार्यजननसामर्थ्यं
सा त्वं किं स्तूयसे ? अभावस्य कार्यजननं प्रति सामर्थ्यं प्रतिबन्धाभावस्य नाहं प्रति
सामर्थ्यादिकमुदाहर्तव्यम् । स्तोतुः स्तोत्रजननशक्तिरपि यतस्त्वं तदा किं स्तूयसे ? भेदा-
श्रयत्वात्स्तुतेरित्यर्थः ।

यया त्वया जगत्स्रष्टा जगत्पाताति यो जगत् ।

सोऽपि निद्रावशं नीतः कस्त्वां स्तोतुमिहेश्वरः ॥ ६४ ॥

यो जगत्स्रष्टा जगत्पाता^{१०} जगदति च यः सोऽपीश्वरस्त्वया निद्रावशं नीतः ।
अतस्त्वां स्तोतुं कः समर्थः ।

विष्णुः शरीरग्रहणमहमीशान एव च ।

कारितास्ते यतोऽतस्त्वां कः स्तांतुं शक्तिमान् भवेत् ॥ ६५ ॥

विष्णुरहं ब्रह्मा ईशानः शिवः । ते त्वया शरीरग्रहणं कारिताः यतोऽतस्त्वां स्तोतुं कः
शक्तिमान् भवेत् । तयाश्रितसंख्यया कारिता इति विशेषणे बहुवचनम् ।

सा त्वमित्थं प्रभावैः स्वरुदारैर्देवि संस्तुता ।

मोहायैतौ दुराधर्षावसुरौ मधुकैटभौ ॥ ६६ ॥

उदारैर्लोकप्रसिद्धैः ।

प्रबोधं च जगत्स्वामी नीयतामच्युतो लघु ।

बोधश्च क्रियतामस्य हन्तुमेतौ महासुरौ ॥ ६७ ॥

लघु क्षिप्रम् । एतौ हन्तुं बोधः क्रियतां ज्ञाप्यतामित्यर्थः । अध्यवसायमस्य जनयेति
वा बोधः क्रियतामित्यस्यार्थः ।

ऋषिरुवाच —

एवं स्तुता तदा देवी तामसी तत्र वेधसा ।

विष्णोः प्रबोधनार्थाय निहन्तुं मधुकैटभौ ॥ ६८ ॥

तामसी निद्रा । तथा च पारमर्ष सूत्रम्—‘अभावप्रत्ययालम्बना वृत्तिर्निद्रे’ति
(यो.सू. १.१०) । प्रमाणादिवृत्तेरभावस्य प्रतिबन्धस्य यः प्रत्ययो हेतुः । तमो वरणकम् ।
तदालम्बना वृत्तिर्निद्रेत्यर्थः । वेधसा स्तुतेति संबन्धः ।

नेत्रास्यनासिकाबाहुहृदयेभ्यस्तथोरसः ।

निर्गम्य दर्शने तस्थौ ब्रह्मणोऽव्यक्तजन्मनः ॥ ६९ ॥

नेत्रास्येत्यादि । *सत्यपि प्राण्यङ्गत्वे नैकवद्भावः । अङ्गुष्ठानामिकाभ्यां तु चक्षुःश्रोत्रे पुनःपुनरिति वत् । विष्णोर्नेत्रादिभ्यो निर्गम्य ब्रह्मणो दर्शने चक्षुर्दर्शने गोचरे गृहीतशरीरा तस्थौ । अव्यक्तजन्मन इति ब्रह्मणो विशेषणम् । अव्यक्तात्-प्रधानाज्जन्म यस्येति विग्रहः । तथा चागमिनो महत्तत्त्वं ब्रह्माणमामनन्ति ।

उत्तस्थौ च जगन्नाथस्तया मुक्तो जनार्दनः ।
एकार्णवेऽहिशयनात्ततः स ददृशे च तौ ॥ ७० ॥

अहिशयनाच्छेषादहेरुत्तस्थाविति संबन्धः ।

मधुकैटभौ दुरात्मानावतिवीर्यपराक्रमौ ।
क्रोधरक्तेक्ष्णौ हन्तुं ब्रह्माणं जनितोद्यमौ ॥ ७१ ॥

वीर्यं सामर्थ्यम् । पराक्रम उद्यमः । ब्रह्माणं हन्तुं जनितोद्यमौ कृतप्रयत्नौ ।

समुत्थाय ततस्ताभ्यां युयुधे भगवान्हरिः ।
पञ्चवर्षसहस्राणि बाहुप्रहरणो विभुः ॥ ७२ ॥

पञ्चवर्षसहस्राणीति । अत्यन्तसंयोगे द्वितीया । बाहु भुजावेव प्रहरणं यस्येति विग्रहः ।

तावप्यतिबलोन्मत्तौ महामायाविमोहितौ ।
उक्तवन्तौ वरोऽस्मत्तो व्रियतामिति केशवम् ॥ ७३ ॥

श्रीभगवानुवाच—

भवेतामद्य मे तुष्टौ मम वध्याबुभावपि ।
किमन्येन वरेणात्र एतावद्धि वृतं मया ॥ ७४ ॥

वृतं वरणं वृ(त्रि)यत इत्यर्थः । 'क्तस्य च वर्तमाने' (पा.सू. २.३.३७) इति कृद्योगलक्षणा कर्तरि षष्ठी ।

ऋषिरुवाच—

वञ्चिताभ्यामिति तदा सर्वमापोमयं जगत् ।
विलोक्य ताभ्यां गदितो भगवान्कमलेक्षणः ॥ ७५ ॥

वञ्चिताभ्यां भगवता छलिताभ्याम् । भगवान् गदित इति संबन्धः । इति पूर्वोक्त-प्रकारेण । आपोमयमिति । छन्दसि आपःशब्दः सान्तः प्रायेण *दृश्यते । अत आपोमयमिति

पदसिद्धिः । तथा च श्रुतिः—‘अन्नमयं हि सौम्य मन आपोमयः प्राणस्तेजोमयी वागिति’
(छां.उ. ६.५.४, ६.६.५, ६.७.६)

“आवां जहि न यत्रोर्वी सलिलेन परिप्लुता ॥ ७६ ॥

यत्रोर्वी सलिलेन [न] परिप्लुता तत्रावां जहि मारयेत्यर्थः ।

ऋषिरुवाच —

तथेत्युक्त्वा भगवता शङ्खचक्रगदाभृता ।

कृत्वा चक्रेण वै छिन्ने जघने शिरसी तयोः ॥ ७७ ॥

तथेत्युक्त्वाङ्गीकृत्य जघनोर्वीः “पुरोभागे तयोः शिरःकृत्वा चक्रेण छिन्ने इति संबन्धः ।

एवमेवा समुत्पन्ना ब्रह्मणा संस्तुता स्वयम् ।

“प्राभावमस्या देव्यास्तु भूयः शृणु वदामि ते ॥ ७८ ॥

इति श्रीमार्कण्डेयपुराणे सावर्णिके मन्वन्तरे देवीसाहान्त्ये मधुकैटभावाधो
नाम प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥ १ ॥

सुरथं प्रति मेघस इदमर्थाख्यानम् । ब्रह्मण(णा) एवं स्तुता देवी समुत्पन्ना । पुनर्देवानां
कार्यं^{५१}सिद्धयर्थमस्याः प्रभावं तुभ्यं वदामि । त्वं शृणुष्वेति संबन्धः । प्रभावं साहान्त्यं प्रभाव
एव प्राभावः । कचिदेकपदेऽपीति दीर्घपद इति वा ।

इति श्रीनीलाम्बराचार्यविरचितायां सप्तशतीटीकार्या प्रथमः परिच्छेदः समाप्तः ॥१॥

॥ ७८ ॥

५. Before this, Venk ed. ins. in brackets—

[प्रीतौ स्वस्तव युद्धेन आप्यस्त्वं मृत्युरावधोः ।]

Our commentator seems to have omitted it.

५१ B पुरोभावे. ५२ Venk. ed. reads प्रभावम्. Our commentator reads प्राभावम्.

५३ B सिद्धयर्थप्रतिमेधमस्यवं for सिद्धयर्थमस्याः प्रभावं.

॥ द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥

देवानां कार्यसिद्ध्यर्थं भगवत्या उत्पत्त्यन्तराभीत्स(प्स)या ऋषिरुवाच—

ऋषिरुवाच—

देवासुरमभूद्युद्धं पूर्णमब्दशतं पुरा ।
महिषेऽसुराणामधिपे देवानां च पुरन्दरे ॥ १ ॥

तत्रासुरैर्महावीर्यैर्देवसैन्यं पराजितम् ।
जित्वा च सकलान्देवानिन्द्रोऽभून्महिषासुरः ॥ २ ॥

देवासुरमित्यादि । देवासुराणामिदं देवासुरमिदमर्थेऽण् । असौ च(त्व)णितिवदेक-
पदवृद्धिः । अब्दशतमित्यत्रात्यन्तसंयोगे द्वितीया । पुरन्दरे पुरन्दरसंज्ञिके देवानामधिपे ।
'यस्य च भावो(वेन) भावलक्षणम्' (पा. २.३.७७) इति सप्तमी ।

ततः पराजिता देवाः पद्मयोनिं प्रजापतिम् ।
पुरस्कृत्य गतास्तत्र यत्रेशगरुडध्वजौ ॥ ३ ॥

प्रजापतिमित्यस्य विशेषणं पद्मयोनिमिति । विष्णोर्नाभिसरोरुह^१जातमित्यर्थः ।

यथावृत्तं तयोस्तद्वन्महिषासुरचेष्टितम् ।
त्रिदशाः कथयामासुर्देवाभिभवविस्तरम् ॥ ४ ॥

महिषासुरचेष्टितं तयोरीशगरुडध्वजयोः 'कथयामासुः । 'यथावृत्तं यथा'प्रवृत्तम् ।
यथाप्रवृत्तं देवानामभिभवविस्त्रो यत्र महिषासुरचेष्टिते । एतत्प्रयोगादेव शब्दबहुत्वेऽपि विस्तरं
प्रयुञ्जते ।

सूर्येन्द्राग्न्यनिलेन्दूनां यमस्य वरुणस्य च ।
अन्येषां चाधिकारान् स स्वयमेवाधितिष्ठति ॥ ५ ॥

स्वर्गान्निराकृताः सर्वे तेन देवगणा भुवि ।
विचरन्ति यथा मर्त्या महिषेण दुरात्मना ॥ ६ ॥

१ B सिरंध्यर्थ. २ B om. भावो. ३ B पम° for पद्म° ४ B °जतम्
for °जातम्. ५ A reads तयो etc. upto चेष्टिते in marg. ६ B reads in
marg. ७ B कथा° for यथा°. ८ B °वृत्ते for °प्रवृत्तम्.

तेन निराकृता देवा मर्त्या इव विचरन्ति ।

एतद्वः कथितं सर्वममरारिविचेष्टितम् ।

शरणं च प्रपन्नाः स्मो वधस्तस्य विचिन्त्यताम् ॥ ७ ॥

यो युष्मभ्यमेतत्कथितम् । गुरुत्वाद्बहुवचनम् । युष्मान् शरणं प्रपन्नाः । अभिसराम
इत्यर्थः ।

इत्थं निशम्य देवानां वचांसि मधुसूदनः ।

चकार कोपं शम्भुश्च भ्रुकुटीकुटिलाननौ ॥ ८ ॥

भ्रुकुटीकुटिलाननाविति शम्भुमधुसूदनयोर्विशेषणम् । अत्र द्वाश्रितसंख्यया वि^{१०}शेषण-
द्विवचनम् ।

ततोऽतिकोपपूर्णस्य चक्रिणो वदनात्ततः ।

निश्चक्राम महत्तेजो ब्रह्मणः शंकरस्य च ॥ ९ ॥

अन्येषां चैव देवानां शक्रादीनां शरीरतः ।

निर्गतं सुमहत्तेजस्तच्चैक्यं समगच्छत ॥ १० ॥

अङ्गाश्रित^{११}संख्ययादावेकवचनं^{१२} करोति । तत्तेज ऐक्यमेकतां समगच्छत ।
क्वचित्सकर्मकादपि 'समो गमृ(मृ)च्छा(च्छि)' (पा. १.३.२९) इत्यात्मनेपदम् ।

अतीव तेजसः कूटं ज्वलन्तमिव पर्वतम् ।

ददृशुस्ते सुरास्तत्र ज्वालाव्याप्तादिगन्तरम् ॥ ११ ॥

कूटं राशिम् ।

अतुलं तत्र तत्तेजः सर्वदेवशरीरजम् ।

एकस्थं तदभूच्चारी व्याप्तलोकत्रयं त्विषा ॥ १२ ॥

अत्र लोकत्रयं^{१३} तत्तेज ऐक्यमेकधार्यमभूदिति^{१४} संबन्धः ।

यदभूच्छास्मभवं तेजस्तेनाजायत तन्मुखम् ।

याम्येन चाभवन्केशा बाहवो विष्णुतेजसा ॥ १३ ॥

सौम्येन स्तनयोर्युग्मं मध्यमैन्द्रेण चाभवत् ।

वारुणेन च जङ्घोरु नितम्बस्तेजसा भुवः ॥ १४ ॥

१ B om. ते (hapl). १० B om. शे. ११ B संख्यया. १२ B वचने.
१३ B om. करोति तत्तेज. १४ B तत्तेज. १५ B संबन्धः.

जङ्घोर्धि(र्वि)ति समाहारत्वादेकवचनम् । एकवद्भावस्य वैकल्पिकत्वादीर्घपाठोऽपि
संमतः ।

ब्रह्मणस्तेजसा पादौ तदङ्गुल्योऽर्कतेजसा ।
वसूनां च कराङ्गुल्यः कौबेरेण च नासिका ॥ १५ ॥
तस्यास्तु दन्ताः संभूताः प्राजापत्येन तेजसा ।
नयनत्रितयं जज्ञे तथा पावकतेजसा ॥ १६ ॥

प्राजापत्येन कश्यपसंबन्धिना ।

भुवौ च संध्ययोस्तेजः श्रवणावनिलस्य च ।
अन्येषां चैव देवानां संभवस्तेजसां शिवा ॥ १७ ॥
ततः समस्तदेवानां तेजोराशिसमुद्भवाम् ।
तां विलोक्य मुदं प्रापुरमरा महिषादिताः ॥ १८ ॥
शूलं शूलाद्विनिष्कृत्य ददौ तस्यै पिनाकधृक् ।
चक्रं च दत्तवान्कृष्णः समुत्पाद्य स्वचक्रतः ॥ १९ ॥

समुत्पाद्य जनयित्वा ।

शङ्खं च वरुणः शक्तिं ददौ तस्यै हुताशनः ।
मारुतो दत्तवांश्चापं बाणपूर्णं तथेषुधी ॥ २० ॥
वज्रमिन्द्रः समुत्पाद्य कुलिशादमराधिपः ।
ददौ तस्यै सहस्राक्षो घण्टामैरावताद्गजात् ॥ २१ ॥
कालदण्डाद्यमो दण्डं पाशं चाम्बुपतिर्ददौ ।
प्राजापतिश्चाक्षमालां ददौ ब्रह्मा कमण्डलुम् ॥ २२ ॥
समस्तरोमकूपेषु निजरश्मीन्दिवाकरः ।
कालश्च दत्तवान् खड्गं तस्याश्चर्म च निर्मलम् ॥ २३ ॥
क्षीरोदश्चामलं हारमजरे च तथाम्बरे ।
चूडामणिं तथा दिव्यं कुण्डले कटकानि च ॥ २४ ॥
अर्धचन्द्रं तथा दिव्यं केयूरान्सर्वबाहुषु ।
नूपुरौ विमलौ तद्वदग्रैवेयकमनुत्तमम् ॥ २५ ॥
अङ्गुलीयकरत्नानि समस्तास्वङ्गुलीषु च ॥ २५ ॥

केयूरानिति । 'केयूरमङ्गलं तुल्ये' (अमरकोशः २.१२८८) इत्यभिधाने^{१७} 'यस्मा
देव प्रयोगादद्विलिङ्गता ।

विश्वकर्मा ददौ तस्य परशुं चातिनिर्मलम् ।
अस्त्राण्यनेकरूपाणि तथाभेद्यं च दंशनम् ॥ २६ ॥
अम्लानपङ्कजां मालां शिरस्युरसि चापराम् ।
अददज्जलधिस्तस्यै पङ्कजं चातिशोभनम् ॥ २७ ॥
हिमवान्वाहनं सिंहं रत्नानि विविधानि च ।
ददावशून्यं सुरया पानपात्रे धनाधिपः ॥ २८ ॥
शेषश्च सर्वनागेशो महामणिविभूषितम् ।
नागहारं ददौ तस्यै धत्ते यः पृथिवीमिन्द्रा ॥ २९ ॥
अन्यैरपि सुरैर्देवी भूपतैरायुधैस्तथा ।
संमानिता ननादोच्चैः सादृहासं सुहृदुहः ॥ ३० ॥

सादृहासं सशब्दहासम् ।

तस्या नादेन घोरेण कृत्स्नमापूरितं नमः ।
अमायतातिमहता प्रतिशब्दो महानभूत् ॥ ३१ ॥

अमाख्यं रविराशिं यता गच्छता । अथवा तेन नादेन पूरितं यथा भवति, तथा कृत्स्नं
नमोऽमायत । 'माड् माने' (पा.भा. १.१४२) इत्यस्य 'देवादिकस्य नमःकर्मणि प्रथमान्त-
स्वरूपम् । 'सर्वे विधावय(विधय)श्छन्दसि विकल्पान्तं (विकल्पयन्ते)' (परिभाषेन्दु. ३५)
इति ^{१८}वचनादीत्वाभावः । प्रतिशब्दः ।

चुक्षुभुः सकला लोकाः समुद्राश्च चक्रम्परे ।
चचाल वसुधा चेलुः सकलाश्च महीधराः ॥ ३२ ॥
जयेति देवाश्च सुदा तामूचुः सिंहवाहिनीम् ।
तुण्डुवुर्मुनयश्चैनां भक्तिनम्रात्मभूतयः ॥ ३३ ॥
दृष्ट्वा समस्तं संक्षुब्धं त्रैलोक्यममरारयः ।
सन्नद्धाखिलसैन्यास्ते समुत्तस्थुरुदायुधाः ॥ ३४ ॥

१७ B अभिधानेषु. १८ B मह. १९ B देवादिकस्य नमः. २० B om.
चनादीत्वाभावः & reads wrongly for the first time चक्रः कोधादि from com. on ३५,
repeating it in its proper place.

आः किमेतदिति क्रोधादाभाप्य महिषासुरः ।
अभ्यधावत तं शब्दमशेषैरसुरैर्वृतः ॥ ३५ ॥

उदायुधा उद्यतायुधाः । आः शब्दो निपातितः कोपवाचकः । क्रोधादिति श्लाघ्यः (ध्यं)
विशेषणम् । कोपस्यानिभ(म्)त्यमाह ।

स ददर्श ततो देवीं व्याप्तलोकत्रयां त्विषा ।
पादाक्रान्त्या नतभुवं किरीटोल्लिखितास्वराम् ॥ ३६ ॥
क्षोभिताशेषपातालां धनुर्ज्यानिस्वनेन ताम् ।
दिशो भुजसहस्रेण समन्ताद्व्याप्य संस्थिताम् ॥ ३७ ॥

धनुर्ज्यानिस्वनेन क्षोभिताशेषपातालमिति संबन्धः । धनुर्ज्यानिस्वनेनेत्यपि श्लाघ्यं
विशेषणमेव । ज्याशब्देनैव धनुर्गुणस्याभिधानादिति । तां ददर्शेति संबन्धः ।

ततः प्रववृते युद्धं तथा देव्या सुरद्विषाम् ।
शस्त्रास्त्रैर्वहुधा मुक्तैरादीपितादिगन्तरम् ॥ ३८ ॥

येन करवृतेन हन्यते, तच्छस्त्रम् । यद्विमुक्तं शत्रुं निहन्ति, तदस्त्रमिति भेदः ।
शस्यतेऽनेनेति । 'शस्(सु) हिंसायाम्' (पा.धा. ७२७) इति । अस्त्रनिरूपणम् । अस्थत
इदमित्यस्त्रम् । 'अस्(सु) क्षेपणे' (पा.धा. १२१०) इत्यतः पूर्ववत् ।

महिषासुरसेनानीश्चिक्षुराख्यो महासुरः ।
युयुधे चामरश्चान्यैश्चतुरङ्गबलान्वितः ॥ ३९ ॥

'चिक्षुराख्यो' चिक्षुरसंज्ञः । चतुरङ्गं हस्त्यश्चरथपाद[ता]त्मकम् ।

रथानामयुतैः षड्भिरुदग्राख्यो महासुरः ।
अयुध्यतायुतानां च सहस्रेण महाहनुः ॥ ४० ॥

पञ्चाशद्भिश्च नियुतैरसिलोमा महासुरः ।
अयुतानां शतैः षड्भिर्वाक्कलो युयुधे रणे ॥ ४१ ॥

गजवाजिसहस्रौघैरनेकैः परिवारितः ।

वृतो रथानां कोट्या च युद्धे तस्मिन्नयुध्यत ॥ ४२ ॥

विडालाख्योऽयुतानां च पञ्चाशद्भिरथायुतैः ।

युयुधे संयुगे तत्र रथानां परिवारितः ॥ ४३ ॥

अयुतैरिति-अयुतसंख्यया बहुत्वविवक्षया बहुवचनम् । 'संख्यायै वि(द्वि)बहुव्ये स्तः'
इत्यमरः (२.१८७४) । एवं पञ्चाशद्विरयुतैरिति संबन्धः । अयशब्द आनन्तर्यार्थः ।

अन्ये च तत्रायुतशो रथनागहयैर्वृताः ।

युयुधुः संयुगे देव्या सह तत्र महासुराः ॥ ४४ ॥

कोटिकोटिसहस्रैस्तु रथानां दान्तिनां तथा ।

हयानां च वृतो युद्धे तत्राभून्माहिषासुरः ॥ ४५ ॥

तोमरैर्भिन्दिपालैश्च शक्तिभिर्मुसलैस्तथा ।

युयुधुः संयुगे देव्या खड्गैः परशुपट्टिशैः ॥ ४६ ॥

केचिच्च चिक्षिपुः शक्तीः केचित् पाशांस्तथापरे ।

देवीं खड्गप्रहारैस्तु ते तां हन्तुं प्रचक्रमुः ॥ ४७ ॥

सापि देवी ततस्तानि शस्त्राण्यस्त्राणि चण्डिका ।

लीलयैव प्रचिच्छेद् निजशस्त्रास्त्रवर्षिणी ॥ ४८ ॥

अनायस्तानना देवी स्तूयमाना सुरर्षिभिः ।

मुमोचासुरदेहेषु शस्त्राण्यस्त्राणि चेश्वरी ॥ ४९ ॥

अनायस्तानना प्रसन्नानेत्यर्थः ।

सोऽपि क्रुद्धो धुतसटो देव्या वाहनकेसरी ।

चचारासुरसंन्येषु वनेष्विव हुताशनः ॥ ५० ॥

धुतसटः कम्पितकेसरः ।

निःश्वासान् मुमुचे यांश्च युध्यमाना रणेऽम्बिका ।

त एव सद्यः संभूता गणाः शतसहस्रशः ॥ ५१ ॥

निःश्वासादगणा बभूवुरिति संबन्धः ।

युयुधुस्ते परशुभिर्भिन्दिपालासिपट्टिशैः ।

नाशयन्तोऽसुरगणान् देवीशक्त्युपबृंहिताः ॥ ५२ ॥

देव्याः शक्त्योपबृंहिता आप्यायिता इत्यर्थः ।

अवादयन्त पटहान् गणाः शङ्खांस्तथापरे ।

मृदङ्गांश्च तथैवान्ये तस्मिन् युद्धमहोत्सवे ॥ ५३ ॥

अवाद्यन्त पठहानिति, पठहान् वादितवन्त इत्यर्थः । अवाद्यन्त इत्यपि पाठः ।
शतप्रत्ययादङागमस्यासंभवात् ।

ततो देवी त्रिशूलेन गदया शक्तिऋष्टिभिः ।
खड्गादिभिश्च शतशो निजघ्नान महासुरान् ॥ ५४ ॥

शक्तिऋष्टिभिः शक्तिवर्षैः ।

पातयामास चैवान्यान् घण्टास्वनविमोहितान् ।
असुरान् भुवि पाशेन बद्ध्वा चान्यानकर्षयत् ॥ ५५ ॥

केचिद् द्विधा कृतास्तीक्ष्णैः खड्गपातैस्तथापरे ।
विपोथिता निपातेन गदया भुवि शेरते ॥ ५६ ॥

गदया विपोथिता निपातेन निपतनेन भुवि शेरत इति संबन्धः । 'पुथ(थि) हिंसा-
संक्लेशनयोः' इति धातुः (पा. धा. ४४) ।

वेमुश्च केचिद्भुधिरं मुसलेन भृशं हताः ।
केचिन्निपतिता भूमौ भिन्नाः शूलेन वक्षसि ॥ ५७ ॥

निराकृताः शरौघेण कृताः केचिद् रणाजिरे ।
सेनानुकारिणः प्राणान्मुमुचुस्त्रिदशार्दनाः ॥ ५८ ॥

सेनानुकारिणः, सेना^१नियन्तारः । स्येनस्य पक्षिविशेषस्या^२नुकारिण इति पाठः ।
बहुपुस्तकादर्शनात् ।

केषाञ्चिद् बाहवश्छिन्नाश्छिन्नग्रीवास्तथापरे ।
शिरांसि पेतुरन्येषामन्ये मध्ये विदारिताः ॥ ५९ ॥

विच्छिन्नजङ्घास्त्वपरे पेतुरुर्व्या महासुराः ।
एकबाह्वक्षिचरणाः केचिद्देव्या द्विधा कृताः ॥ ६० ॥

छिन्नेऽपि चान्ये शिरसि पतिताः पुनरुत्थिताः ।
कबन्धा युयुधुर्देव्या गृहीतपरमायुधाः ॥ ६१ ॥

ननृतुश्चापरे तत्र युद्धे तुर्यलयाश्रिताः ॥ ६२ ॥

कबन्धाश्छिन्नशिरसः खड्गशक्त्यृष्टिपाणयः ।
तिष्ठ तिष्ठेति भाषन्तो देवीमन्ये महासुराः ॥ ६३ ॥

कबन्धादिछन्नशिरस इति श्लाघ्यं विशेषणम् । कबन्धशब्दस्यैव क्रियायुक्तापमूर्ध-
कलेवरवाचकत्वात् ।

पातितै रथनागाश्चैरसुरैश्च वसुंधरा ।

अगम्या साभवत्तत्र यत्राभूत्स महारणः ॥ ६४ ॥

शोणितौवा महानद्यः सद्यस्तत्र विसृजुवुः ।

मध्ये चासुरसैन्यस्य वारणासुरवाजिनाम् ॥ ६५ ॥

क्षणेन तन्महासैन्यमसुराणां तथाम्बिका ।

निन्ये क्षयं, यथा वह्निस्तृणदारुमहाचयम् ॥ ६६ ॥

स च सिंहो महानादमुत्सृजन्धुतकेसरः ।

शरीरेभ्योऽमरारीणामसूनिव विचिन्वति ॥ ६७ ॥

स सिंहोऽमरारीणां शरीरेभ्योऽसूनिविचिनोति स्मेत्यर्थः । इव शब्द उत्प्रेक्षेयम् ।
क्रियासमति(भि)व्याहारे सर्वकालेषु मध्यमैकवचनम् । पञ्चम्या इत्यनेन नाम्नि प्रयुज्यमानेऽपि
मध्यमः पुरुषः । 'छन्दसि पूर्वपरे वा' (पा. १.४.८१) पठनादतिशब्दस्य निपातः ।
अथवातिशब्दस्यातिशयातिक्रमयोरुपसर्गत्वाभावात् ।

देव्या गणैश्च तैस्तत्र कृतं युद्धं तथासुरैः ।

यथैषां तुतुषुर्देवाः पुष्पवृष्टिसुचो दिवि ॥ ६८ ॥

॥ इति श्रीमार्कण्डेयपुराणे देवीमाहात्म्ये महिषासुरसैन्यवधो नाम
द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥ २ ॥

॥ इति श्रीनीलाम्बराचार्यविरचितायां सप्तशतीटीकायां महिषासुरसैन्यवधः समाप्तः ॥ २ ॥

॥ तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥

ऋषिरुवाच—

निहन्यमानं तत्सैन्यमवलोक्य महासुरः ।
 सेनानीश्चक्षुरः कोपाद् ययौ योद्धुमथाम्बिकाम् ॥ १ ॥
 स देवीं शरवर्षेण धवर्ष समरेऽसुरः ।
 यथा मेरुगिरेः शृङ्गं तोयवर्षेण तोयदः ॥ २ ॥
 तस्य च्छित्त्वा ततो देवी लीलयैव शरोऽकरान् ।
 जघान तुरगान् बाणैर्यन्तारं चैव वाजिनाम् ॥ ३ ॥

यन्तारं सारथिम् ।

चिच्छेद च धनुः सद्यो ध्वजं चातिसमुच्छ्रितम् ।
 विव्याध चैव गात्रेषु छिन्नधन्वानमाशुगैः ॥ ४ ॥
 स च्छिन्नधन्वा विरथो हताश्वो हतसारथिः ।
 अभ्यधावत तां देवीं खड्गचर्मधरोऽसुरः ॥ ५ ॥
 सिंहमाहत्य खड्गेन तीक्ष्णधारेण मूर्धनि ।
 आजघान भुजे सव्ये देवीमप्यतिवेगवान् ॥ ६ ॥

सव्ये वामे ।

तस्याः खड्गो भुजं प्राप्य पफाल नृपनन्दन ।
 ततो जग्राह शूलं स कोपादरुणलोचनः ॥ ७ ॥

पफाल द्विधाभवत् । 'जिफला विशरणे' (पा. धा. ५१६) इत्यस्य रूपम् ।
 विशरणं विभागः । 'तच्छूलं तम्' इति पाठे 'अस्त्री शूलं रुगायुधम्' (अमरकोषः ३.२७२९)
 इत्यन्वयात्पुंस्त्वम् ।

चिक्षेप च ततस्तत्तु भद्रकाल्यां महासुरः ।

जाज्वल्यमानं तेजोभी रविविम्बमिवाम्बरात् ॥ ८ ॥

तेजोभिर्जाज्वल्यमानं रविविम्बमिव । रो रे (रि) (पा. ८.३.१४) लोपमिति दीर्घः ।
 ह्रस्वपाठे तु 'अवयः शैलमेषाका' इत्यमरः (३.२७४९) ।

दृष्ट्वा तदापतच्छूलं देवी शूलममुञ्चत ।

तेन तच्छतधा नीतं शूलं स च महासुरः ॥ ९ ॥

हते तस्मिन्महावीर्ये महिषस्य चमूपतौ ।

आजगाम गजारूढश्चामरस्त्रिदशार्दनः ॥ १० ॥

सोऽपि शक्तिं मुमोचाथ देव्यास्तामम्बिका द्रुतम् ।

हुंकाराभिहतां भूमौ पातयामास निष्प्रभाम् ॥ ११ ॥

भग्नां शक्तिं निपतितां दृष्ट्वा क्रोधसमान्वितः ।

चिक्षेप चामरः शूलं बाणैस्तदपि साच्छिनत् ॥ १२ ॥

ततः सिंहः समुत्पत्य गजकुम्भान्तरस्थितः ।

बाहुयुद्धेन युयुधे तेनोच्चैस्त्रिदशारिणा ॥ १३ ॥

युध्यमानौ ततस्तौ तु तस्मान्नागान्महीं गतौ ।

युयुधातेऽतिसंख्यौ प्रहारैरतिदारुणैः ॥ १४ ॥

अतिसंख्यौ क्रोधात् कृतप्रयत्नौ युयुधाते । 'ईदृदे द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम्'
(पा. सू. १.१.११) इति प्रगृह्यत्वेऽपि छान्दसत्वात्सन्धिलक्षणोऽकारलोपः ।

ततो वेगात्स्वमुत्पत्य निपत्य च मृगारिणा ।

करप्रहारेण शिरश्चामरस्य पृथक् कृतम् ॥ १५ ॥

मृगारिणा सिंहेन । खमाकाशमुत्पत्यावतीर्य शिरः पृथक् कृतं छिन्नम् ।

उदग्रश्च रणे देव्या शिलावृक्षादिभिर्हतः ।

दन्तमुष्टितलैश्चैव करालश्च निपातितः ॥ १६ ॥

रणे युद्ध उदग्रश्च हत इति संबन्धः । दन्तस्य यः खड्गस्य मुष्टिः, तस्य यत्तलमधो-
भागस्तस्य प्रहारैरित्यर्थः ।

देवी कुद्धा गदापातैश्चूर्णयामास चोद्धतम् ।

वाष्कलं भिन्दिपालेन बाणैस्ताम्रं तथान्धकम् ॥ १७ ॥

उद्धतमुद्धतसंज्ञम् ।

उग्रास्यमुग्रवीर्यं च तथैव च महाहनुम् ।

त्रिनेत्रा च त्रिशूलेन जघान परमेश्वरी ॥ १८ ॥

विडालस्यासिना कायात्पातयामास वै शिरः ।
दुर्धरं दुर्मुखं चोभौ शरैर्निन्ये यमक्षयम् ॥ १९ ॥

यमक्षयं यमगृहम् ।

एवं संक्षीयमाणे तु स्वसैन्ये महिषासुरः ।
माहिषेण स्वरूपेण त्रासयामास तान् गणान् ॥ २० ॥
कांश्चित्तुण्डप्रहारेण खुरक्षैर्पैस्तथापरान् ।
लाङ्गूलताडितांश्चान्यान् शृङ्गाभ्यां च विदारितान् ॥ २१ ॥
वेगेन कांश्चिदपरान्नादेन भ्रमणेन च ।
निःश्वासपवनेनान्यान्पातयामास भूतले ॥ २२ ॥
निपात्य प्रमथानीकमभ्यधावत सोऽसुरः ।
सिंहं हन्तुं महादेव्याः कोपं चक्रे ततोऽम्बिका ॥ २३ ॥

प्रमथानीकं गणसैन्यम् ।

सोऽपि कोपान्महावीर्यः खुरक्षुण्णमहीतलः ।
शृङ्गाभ्यां पर्वतानुच्चांश्चिक्षेप च ननाद च ॥ २४ ॥
वेगभ्रमणविक्षुण्णा मही तस्य व्यशीर्यत ।
लाङ्गूलेन गहतश्चाब्धिः प्लावयामास सर्वतः ॥ २५ ॥
धुतशृङ्गविभिन्नाश्च खण्डंखण्डं ययुर्धनाः ।
श्वासानिलास्ताः शतशो निपेतुर्नभसोऽचलाः ॥ २६ ॥

श्वासानिलाक्षिताः ।

इति क्रोधसमाध्मातमापतन्तं महासुरम् ।
दृष्ट्वा सा चण्डिका कोपं तद्वधाय तदाकरोत् ॥ २७ ॥

क्रोधसमाम्ना(ध्मा)तं, क्रोधेन दीपितम् ।

सा क्षिप्त्वा तस्य वै पाशं तं बबन्ध महासुरम् ।
तत्याज माहिषं रूपं सोऽपि बद्धो महामृधे ॥ २८ ॥

तस्य संबन्धिनं पाशं छित्त्वा तं बबन्धेति संबन्धः ।

४ Commentator seems to read समाम्नातं (both A & B) which is not proper.

ततः सिंहोऽभवत्सद्यो यावत्तस्याम्बिका शिरः ।
छिनत्ति, तावत्पुरुषः खड्गपाणिरदृश्यत ॥ २९ ॥

तत एवाशु पुरुषं देवी चिच्छेद सायकैः ।
तं खड्गचर्मणा सार्धं ततः सोऽभून्महागजः ॥ ३० ॥

सायकैरर्धचन्द्राकारैस्तं खड्गचर्मणा सहितं चिच्छेद ।

करेण च महासिंहं तं चकर्ष जगर्ज च ।
कर्षतस्तु करं देवी खड्गेन निरकृन्तत ॥ ३१ ॥

ततो महासुरो भूयो माहिषं वपुरास्थितः ।
तथैव क्षोभयामास त्रैलोक्यं सचराचरम् ॥ ३२ ॥

ततः क्रुद्धा जगन्माता चण्डिका पानमुत्तमम् ।
पपौ पुनः पुनश्चैव जहासारुणलोचना ॥ ३३ ॥

पानं पपौ । पीयते तदिति पानम् ।

ननर्द चासुरः सोऽपि बलवीर्यमदोद्धतः ।
विषाणाभ्यां च चिक्षेप चण्डिकां प्रति भूधरान् ॥ ३४ ॥

सा च तान्प्रहितांस्तेन चूर्णयन्ती शरोत्करैः ।
उवाच तं मदोद्धूतमुखरागाकुलाक्षरम् ॥ ३५ ॥

कर्मणि धु(सु)रामदोद्धूतमुखरागाकुलाक्षरं यथा भवति, तथोवाच । मदेन पानजलेनोद्धूत उद्धूरो यो मुखरागः, तेनाकुलाक्षरं विस्पष्टाक्षरं यथा भवति तथा ।

देव्युवाच

गर्ज गर्ज क्षणं मूढ मधु यावत्पिबाम्यहम् ।
मया त्वयि हतेऽत्रैव गर्जिष्यन्त्याशु देवताः ॥ ३६ ॥

आशु शीघ्रं देवता गर्जिष्यन्ति । आसुदेवताः प्राणदेवतास्तत्रोच्चक्रमिषोर्गर्जिष्यन्ति निस्तनिष्यन्तीत्यर्थः ।

२८

क्रपिरुवाच

एवमुक्त्वा समुत्पत्य सारुढा तं महासुरम् ।
पादेनाक्रम्य कण्ठे च शूलेनैनमताडयत् ॥ ३७ ॥

ततः सोऽपि पदाक्रान्तस्तथा निजमुखात्ततः ।
अर्धनिष्क्रान्त एवाति देव्या वीर्येण संवृतः ॥ ३८ ॥

निजमुखाच्छिरश्छित्त्वाधिकायप्रदेशात् । अथवा निजवदनात् । न च 'शिरश्छेदोद्भवं तद्वद्' इति विरोधः । कल्पान्तरवृत्तान्तेनोपपन्नत्वात् । अत एव [न] 'शिरश्छित्त्वा निपातितः' (दे. मा. ३.३९) इति विरोधः 'हृदि शूलेन निर्मिन्नम्' (cf. दे. मा. ७.३२) इत्यनेन ।

अर्धनिष्क्रान्त एवासौ युध्यमानो महासुरः ।
तथा महासिना देव्या शिरश्छित्त्वा निपातितः ॥ ३९ ॥

ततो हाहाकृतं सर्वं दैत्यसैन्यं ननाश तत् ।
प्रहर्षं च परं जग्मुः सकला देवतागणाः ॥ ४० ॥

हाहाकृतं कृतहाहाध्वनि । सैन्यं ननाश पलायितमित्यर्थः ।

तुष्टुवुस्तां सुरा देवीं सह दिव्यैर्महर्षिभिः ।
जगुर्गन्धर्वपतयो ननृतुश्चाप्सरोगणाः ॥ ४१ ॥

इति श्रीमार्कण्डेयपुराणे सावर्णिके मन्वन्तरे देवीमाहात्म्ये
महिषासुरवधस्तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥ ३ ॥

इति नीलाम्बराचार्यविरचितायां [सप्तशतीटीकायां] महिषासुरवधः ॥ ३ ॥

॥ चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ॥

ऋषिरुवाच —

शक्रादयः सुरगणा निहतेः तिस्रोऽपि

तस्मिन्दुरात्मनि सुगन्धिले च देव्या ।

तां तुष्टुवुः प्रणतिनम्रा शिरोधरांसा

वारिभिः प्रहर्षयुः पुलकोद्भवोऽहोः ॥ १ ॥

देव्या तस्मिन्दुरात्मनि महिषे सुरगणां सन्त्ये च निहते शक्रादयः सुरगणास्तां देवीं तुष्टुवुरिति संबन्धः । शिरोधरा ग्रीवा, अंसी मुनी मुजशिरः । प्रणत्यानम्रं शिरोधरांसां येषां ते तथा । प्रहर्षेण यः पुलकोद्भवो (द्रवो) रोमाञ्छादयः, तेन चातु(रु)र्देहो येषामिति 'विग्रहः ।

देव्या यथा ततमिदं जगदात्मशक्त्या

निःशेषदेवगणशक्तिसमूहसूत्र्या ।

तामम्बिकामखिलदेवमहर्षिपूज्यां

भक्त्या नताः स्म विदधातु शुभानि सा नः ॥ २ ॥

तामम्बिकां नतास्मः (नताः स्मः) । सा नोऽस्माकं शुभानि विदधातु । स्मशब्दोऽयं तिङन्तप्रतिरूपकमव्ययम् । यथा देव्या इदं जगत्तते 'विस्तृतमात्म'शक्त्या निजसामर्थ्येन । निःशेषाणां देवगणानां यः शक्तिसमूहस्तेजसां प्रचयः, सेव मूर्तिः शरीरं यस्या इति विग्रहः ।

यस्याः प्रभावमतुलं भगवाननन्तो

ब्रह्मा हरश्च न हि वक्तुमलं बलं च ।

सा चण्डिकाखिलजगत्परिपालनाय

नाशाय चाशुभभयस्य मतिं करोतु ॥ ३ ॥

सा चण्डिकाखिलजगत्परिपालनायाशुभभयस्य नाशाय मतिं करोतु, मतिमकरोत् । यस्याः प्रभावमिति । यस्याः प्रभावं बलं वीर्यं तेजासि बलं सामर्थ्यं च । अनन्तो विष्णुर्भगवान् ज्ञानैश्वर्यसंपन्नः । ब्रह्मा हरश्च वक्तुं नालम्, न समर्थः ।

या श्रीः स्वयं सुकृतिनां भवनेष्वलक्ष्मीः

पापात्मनां कृतधियां हृदयेषु बुद्धिः ।

श्रद्धा सतां कुलजनप्रभवस्य लज्जा

तां त्वां नताः स्म परिपालय देवि विश्वम् ॥ ४ ॥

सुकृतिनां भवनेषु लक्ष्मीः संपत् । पापात्मनां भवनेष्वलक्ष्मीः । कृतधियां शिक्षितधियां
बुद्धिः सद्ध्यवसायजनिका । श्रद्धास्तिष्ठत्यबुद्धिः । सतां साधूनाम् । विकृष्टकुलसंबन्धीजनः
कुलजनः । तत्प्रभवस्य तत्प्रसूतस्य । स्वीकृत्य विषयपरिज्ञानं दुःखं लज्जा । नताः स्म नता
भवामः । अत्रापि स्मशब्दः पूर्ववत् ।

किं वर्णयाम तव रूपमचिन्त्यमेतत्
किं चातिवीर्यमसुरक्षयकारि भूरि ।
किं चाहवेपु चरितानि तवाति यानि
सर्वेषु देव्यसुरदेवगणादिकेषु ॥ ५ ॥

अतिशयितं वीर्यमतिवीर्यं भूरि प्रचुरम् । असुरदेवगणादिकेषु । देवि तव यान्यति-
शयितानि चरितानि किं वर्णयाम, एवानुषङ्गनीयम् ।

हेतुः समस्तजगतां त्रिगुणापि दोषै-
र्न ज्ञायसे हरिहरादिभिरप्यपारा ।
सर्वाश्रयाखिलमिदं जगदंशभूत-
मव्याकृता हि परमा प्रकृतिस्त्वमाद्या ॥ ६ ॥

त्रिगुणा सत्त्वरजस्तमसां साम्यावस्थाव्याकृतातीन्द्रिया परमा महदादीनां मूलप्रकृतिः ।
समस्तजगतां हेतुस्त्वं यद्यपि तथापि सात्त्विकधर्मैश्वर्यज्ञानादिभिर्ज्ञायसे । न ता'**[मसै]र-
धर्म(मा)ज्ञानाज्ञैश्चर्यादिभिर्दोषैरित्यर्थः । अपाराशक्यपारानवच्छेद्येत्यर्थः । सर्वाश्रया सतत-
कार्यत्वेन सर्वस्य कार्यजातस्याधारभूता वटबीजमिव वटवृक्षस्येत्यर्थः । जगदंशभूत-
मणीयान्भागः ।

यस्याः समस्तसुरतासमुदीरणेन
तृप्तिं प्रयाति सकलेषु मन्त्रेषु देवि ।
स्वाहासि वै पितृगणस्य च तृप्तिहेतु-
रुच्चार्यसे त्वमत एव जनैः स्वधा च ॥ ७ ॥

स्वाहा हविर्दानमन्त्रः । त्वं स्वाहा हुतभुक्प्रियेत्ययमनव्ययः (मन्वयः) । स्वाहा-
शब्दोऽतः स्त्रीलिङ्गोपन्यासः साधीयान् । सुरा एव सुरता स्वार्थे तल् । स्वाहायाः समुदीरणेन
समस्तसुरता देवगणस्तृप्तिं प्रयाति । सा त्वम् । पितृगणस्य च तृप्तिहेतुः, स्वधाख्यो
मन्त्रस्त्वम् । अतो जनैः पितृकर्मण्युदीर्यसे ।

सा मुक्तिहेतुरविचिन्त्यमहाव्रता त्व-

मभ्यस्यसे सुनियतेन्द्रियतत्त्वसारैः ।

मोक्षार्थिभिर्मुनिभिस्तसमस्तदोषै-

र्विद्यासि सा भगवती परमा हि देवी ॥ ८ ॥

या मुक्तिहेतुः परमा विद्या सा त्वम् । महद्व्रतं जातिदेशकाला[न]वच्छिन्नं ब्रह्मचर्या-
हिंसासत्यास्तेयापरिग्रहरूपं यस्याः सा महाव्रता । अविचिन्त्या चासौ महाव्रता चेति विग्रहः ।
सुनियतेन्द्रियाश्च ते तत्त्वसाराश्चेति विग्रहः । दूष्यत एभिरात्मेनेति इति दोषा रागादयः ।

शब्दात्मिका सुविमलर्यजुषां निधान-

मुद्गीथरम्यपदपाठवतां च साम्नाम् ।

देवि त्रयी भगवती भवभावनाय

वार्ता च सर्वजगतां परमार्तिहन्त्री ॥ ९ ॥

त्रयाणां वेदानां समाहारस्त्रयी, सा त्वम् । शब्दात्मिका शब्दमयी । सुविमलानि च
तान्यृग्यजूषि चेति विग्रहः । तेषां त्वमृग्यजुषां साम्नां च निधानमाश्रयः । किंभूतानां
साम्नाम् ? उद्गीथरम्यपदपाठवताम् । किं विभक्तिरुद्गीथः ? उद्गीथेन रम्यश्चासौ
पदपाठश्चेति विग्रहः । तद्वताम् । तथा च श्रुतिः—

“ पुरुषस्य वाग्रसो वाच ऋग्रस ऋचः सामानि रसः साम्नामुद्गीथो रसः । स एव
रसनान्त रमन्तमः । पराद्भौऽष्टमो य उद्गीथः । ”

(छां. उ. १।१।२)

उद्गीथान्यक्षराण्यधिकृत्याह श्रुतिः—

‘ घोरे चोदन्तरीक्ष उद्गीथः पृथिवीशूम् ’ इति ।

अयमनूचानसंमतः १० पाठः । अर्वाचीनास्तु उद्गीतमिति पठन्ति । भवभावनाय
संसारस्थित्यै । वार्ता कृष्णादिरूपा । परमार्तिहन्त्री । क्षुधाघप्रशमनेन ।

मेधासि देवि विदिताखिलशास्त्रसारा

दुर्गासि दुर्गभवसागरनौरसङ्गा ।

श्रीः कैटभारिहृदयैककृताधिवासा

गौरी त्वमेव शशिमौलिकृतप्रतिष्ठा ॥ १० ॥

मेधा धारणावती बुद्धिः । विदितोऽखिलशास्त्रसारस्तत्त्वं ययेति विग्रहः । दुर्गो
दुरधिगमो यो भवसागरस्तत्र नौरिव नौः । पारकर्त्रीत्यर्थः । असङ्गा प्रतिबन्धशून्या ।

ईषत्सहासममलं परिपूर्णचन्द्र-

विम्बानुकारि कनकोत्तमकान्तिकान्तम् ।

अत्यद्भुतं प्रहृतमात्तरुपा तथापि

वक्त्रं विलोक्य सहसा महिषासुरेण ॥ ११ ॥

महिषासुरेण तव वक्त्रं विलोक्य यत्प्रहृतं, तदद्भुतमिति संबन्धः । सह हासेन वर्तत इति सहासम् । ईषत्सहासविशेषणे सहशब्दस्य पूर्वत्वमिति न्यायात्, हासे ईषत्संबन्धः । आत्तरुट् । रुपा सरोषेण निर्गता ।

दृष्ट्वा तु देवि कुपितं भुकुटीकराल-

मुद्यच्छशाङ्कसदृशच्छवि यन्न सद्यः ।

प्राणान्मुमोच महिषस्तदतीव चित्रं

कैर्जीव्यते हि कुपितान्तकदर्शनेन ॥ १२ ॥

उद्यच्छशाङ्कसदृशच्छवि, यद्वक्त्रं भवति, तत्कुपितं भुकुट्या क्रोधजलताधिकारेण करा^{११}ले भीषणं दृष्ट्वा महिषो यत्प्राणान् मुमोचेति, तदतीव चित्रमित्यर्थः ।

देवि प्रसीद परमा भवती भवाय

सद्यो विनाशयसि कोपवती कुलानि ।

विज्ञातमेतद्धुनैव यदस्तमेत-

न्नीतं वलं सुविपुलं महिषासुरस्य ॥ १३ ॥

देवि प्रसीद प्रसन्ना भव परमा श्रेष्ठा त्वम् । किमर्थम् ? भवाय सत्त्वाय कल्याणाय वा । अत्र प्रसादप्रवणा यदा त्वं, तदा भवतो भवाय भवतीति शेषः । अयं तु पाठो^{१२} न बहुसंमतः । सर्वमन्यत्सुगमम् ।

ते संमता जनपदेषु धनानि तेषां

तेषां यशांसि न च सीदति धर्मवर्गः ।

धन्यास्त एव निभृतात्मजभृत्यदारा

येषां सदाभ्युदयदा भवती प्रसन्ना ॥ १४ ॥

जनपदेषु संमताः । जनपदेषु देशेषु संमताः साधुत्वेन व्यपदिश्यन्ते । धर्मवर्गो धर्मल^{१३}क्षणः पुरुषार्थः^{१४} । धन्या ध^{१५}नमर्हन्ति धन्याः । 'निभृतो विनीतः' इत्यमरः (cf. अमरकोश. ३.३०७४) विनीता आत्मजभृत्यदारा येषामित्यर्थः । अनेन कामलक्षणः पुरुषार्थो दर्शितः ।

११ B om. शच्छ. १२ B करालं १३ B पातो. १४ A reads from लक्षणः upto काम in marg. १५ B पुरुषार्थ. १६ B om. न.

धर्म्याणि देवि सकलानि सदैव कर्मा-

ण्यत्याहतः प्रतिदिनं सुकृती करोति ।

स्वर्गं प्रयाति च ततो भवतीप्रसादा-

ल्लोकत्रयेऽपि फलदा ननु देवि तेन ॥ १५ ॥

धर्म्याणि धर्मादनपेतानि कर्माणीह सुकृती 'करोति, 'ततोऽनन्तरं स्वर्गं प्रयाति ।
च शब्दाद्भुवर्लोकत्रयेऽपि फलदेत्य'नवद्यम् । अनये(यै)वानुप्रबन्धः । लोकद्वयेऽपीति
केचित्पठन्ति । तदा तु स्पष्ट एवार्थः ।

दुर्गे स्मृता हरसि भीतिमशेषजन्तोः

स्वस्थैः स्मृता मतिमतीव शुभां ददासि ।

दारिद्र्यदुःखभयहारिणि का त्वदन्या

सर्वोपकारकरणाय सदाद्रिचिन्ता ॥ १६ ॥

दुर्गे 'दुर्गस्थाने स्मृता सती, भीतिं हरसीति संबन्धः । सुस्थैरदुर्गे स्मृता शुभां मति-
मतीव निर्भरं ददासि । 'आद्रिचिन्ता स्निग्धचिन्ता ।

एभिर्हतैर्जगदुपैति सुखं तथैते

कुर्वन्तु नाम नरकाय चिराय पापम् ।

संग्राममृत्युमधिगम्य दिवं प्रयान्तु

मत्वेति नूनमहितान्विनिहंसि देवि ॥ १७ ॥

इति महिताहितान्विनिहंसि । एते संग्राममृत्युमधिगम्य 'दिवं प्रयान्तु । एभिर्हतै-
र्जगदुपैति । एभिर्हतैर्जगत्सुखमुपैतु । एभिरिति सुखगमने साधकतमत्वविवक्षया करणत्वम् ।
अहितानिति षष्ठीनिषेधो वैकल्पिकः । मामसंभाव्य पापं कुर्वन्तु नाम नरकार्थम् । तथापि
संग्राममृत्युना बुलोकगमनमेषां भवतीत्यार्द्रचित्तैव शत्रुबधेऽपि 'वर्तत इत्यर्थः ।

उक्तमर्थं स्पष्टयति—दृष्ट्वैवेत्यादि—

दृष्ट्वैव किं न भवती प्रकरोति भस्म

सर्वासुरानरिषु यत्प्रहिणोषि शस्त्रम् ।

लोकान्प्रयान्तु रिपवोऽपि हि शस्त्रपूता

इत्थं मतिर्भवति 'तेष्वपि तेऽतिसाध्वी ॥ १८ ॥

१७ B om. करोति. १८ B तमो. १९ B om. न. २० B दुःख.

२१ B before corr. अ. २२ A दिवं in marg. २३ A सुख in marg.

२४ B वर्त. २५ Restored from com. of Nīlāmarācārya. Venk. reads तेष्वहितेषु

साध्वी.

ते तव तेषु शत्रुष्वप्यार्द्रचि^{११}त्तैवेति । प्रकृतार्थोपसंहारः । यदि शत्रुबधमात्रमपेक्षितं तदा दृष्ट्वैव किं सर्वासुरान्भस्म न करोति ।

खड्गप्रभानिकरविस्फुरणैस्तथोग्रैः

शूलाग्रकान्तिनिवहेन दृशोऽसुराणाम् ।

यन्नागता विलयमंशुमदिन्दुखण्ड-

योग्याननं तव विलोकयतां तदेतत् ॥ १९ ॥

खड्गप्रभासमूहविस्फुरणैः । शूलाग्रकान्तिसमूहेनासुराणां दृशो यद्विलयं नागता^{१२}स्त-
देतत्कारणम् । त्वदीयांशुमदिन्दुखण्डयोग्यस्य सदृशस्याननस्य विलोकनमेव विलोकयताम् ।
हेतुगर्भविशेषणोपन्यासेनेदं वर्णनीयम् । खड्गप्रभाविलोकनादिनोपहता दृशः (तदृशस्) त्वदाननविलोकनेनाप्यायन्त इत्यर्थः ।

प्रकरणार्थमुपसंहरति—दुर्वृत्तेति—

दुर्वृत्तवृत्तशमनं तव देवि शीलं

रूपं तथैतदविचिन्त्यमतुल्यमन्यैः ।

वीर्यं च हन्तुं हतदेवपराक्रमाणां

वैरिष्वपि प्रकटितै^{१३}व दया त्वयेत्यम् ॥ २० ॥

इत्थं बहुप्रकारेण वैरिष्वपि दया त्वया प्रकटितेव प्रकाशितेव । न केवलमिदं, न वा साधारणं कर्म किन्त्विदं त्रया(य)मप्य(प्य)साधारणम् । शीलं चरितम् । दुर्वृत्तानां दुर्वृत्तं शमयति । रूपं चान्यैरतुल्यम्(म)सदृशमविचिन्त्यं बुद्धयपरिच्छेद्यम् । वीर्यं सामर्थ्यम् । हतदेवपराक्रमाणां हर्तुं[न्तु]त्वानुकम् ।

केनोपमा भवतु तेऽस्य पराक्रमस्य

रूपं च शत्रुभयकार्यतिहारि कुत्र ।

चित्ते कृपा समरनिष्ठुरता च दृष्टा

त्वथ्येव देवि वरदे भुवनत्रयेऽपि ॥ २१ ॥

भुवनत्रयेऽपि मध्येऽस्य तव पराक्रमस्य केनोपमा भवतु न केनचिदित्यर्थः । इदं रूपं न तव न कुत्रचिदित्यर्थः । निसर्गतोऽस्तिमनोहारि । युधि शत्रुभयकारि । अन्यद्वयकारि ।
^{११}अन्यद्वि यन्मनोहारि न तद्वयकारि । यच्च भयकारि तन्मनोहारि । इदं तु द्विरूपमिति विशेषः । इदमपि द्वितीयं रूपसाधारणम् । इतरस्मिंश्च काले चित्ते कृपा समरे निष्ठुरता ।

त्रैलोक्यमेतदखिलं रिपुनाशनेन
 त्रातं त्वया समरमूर्धनि तेऽपि हत्वा ।
 नीता दिवं रिपुगणा भयमप्यपास्त-
 मस्माकमुन्मदसुरारिभवं नमस्ते ॥ २२ ॥

त्रैलोक्यं त्रातम् । तेऽपि हत्वा दिवं नीताः । अस्माकं भयमपास्तम् । ते तुभ्यं
 नमोऽस्तु ।

शूलेन पाहि नो देवि पाहि खड्गेन चाम्बिके ।
 घण्टास्वयेन नः पाहि चापज्यानिःस्वनेन च ॥ २३ ॥
 प्राच्यां रक्ष प्रतीच्यां च चण्डिके रक्ष दक्षिणे ।
 भ्रामणेनात्मशूलस्य उत्तरस्यां तथेश्वरि ॥ २४ ॥

^{१०}दक्षिणे ^{११}दक्षिणदिग्भागे । आत्मशूलस्य भ्रामणेन प्राच्यादिषु दिक्षु प(र)क्षेति
 संबन्धः ।

सौम्यानि यानि रूपाणि त्रैलोक्ये विचरन्ति ते ।
 यानि चात्यर्थघोराणि तै रक्षास्मांस्तथा भुवम् ॥ २५ ॥
 खड्गशूलगदादीनि यानि चास्त्राणि तेऽम्बिके ।
 करपल्लवसङ्गीनि तैरस्मान् रक्ष सर्वतः ॥ २६ ॥

करपल्लवसङ्गीनि करपल्लवसंबन्धीनि ।

ऋषिरुवाच —

एवं स्तुता सुरैर्दिव्यैः कुसुमैर्नन्दनोद्भवैः ।
 अर्चिता जगतां धात्री तथा गन्धानुलेपनैः ॥ २७ ॥

नन्दनोद्भवैर्देवकाननोद्भवैः ।

भक्त्या समस्तैस्त्रिदशैर्दिव्यैर्धूपैः सुधूपिता ।
 प्राह प्रसादसुमुखी समस्तान्प्रणतान्सुरान् ॥ २८ ॥

देव्युवाच —

त्रियतां त्रिदशाः सर्वे यदस्मत्तोऽभिवाञ्छितम् ।
 ददाम्यहमतिप्रीत्या स्तवैरोभिः सुपूजिता ॥ २९ ॥

३० B repeats consecutively from दक्षिणे (in com. on 4.24) upto निर्ऋति
 लोकपालाधिष्ठान्यै (in com. on 5.9). ३१ B दक्षिण.

३६

देवा ऊचुः—

भगवत्या कृतं सर्वं न किञ्चिदवाशिष्यते ।

यदयं निहतः शत्रुरस्माकं महिषासुरः ॥ ३० ॥

यदि वापि वरो देयस्त्वयास्माकं महेश्वरि ।

संस्मृता संस्मृता त्वं नो हिंसेथाः परमापदः ॥ ३१ ॥

संस्मृता संस्मृता चिन्तिता चिन्तिता । वीप्सायां द्विवचनम् ।

यश्च मर्त्यः स्तवैरेभिस्त्वां स्तोष्यत्यमलानने ।

तस्य वित्तद्विविभवैर्धनदारादिसंपदाम् ॥ ३२ ॥

वृद्धयेऽस्मत्प्रसन्ना त्वं भवेथाः सर्वदाम्बिके ॥ ३३ ॥

वित्तस्य धनस्य ऋद्धिराधिक्यं तथा यद्विभव ऐश्वर्यं तैः । सह धनदारादिसंपदां वृद्धये भवेथाः, इति संबन्धः ।

ऋषिरुवाच—

इति प्रसादिता देवैर्जगतोऽर्थे तथात्मनः ।

तथेत्युक्त्वा भद्रकाली बभूवान्तर्हिता नृप ॥ ३४ ॥

इत्येतत्कथितं भूप संभूता सा यथा पुरा ।

देवी देवशरीरेभ्यो जगत्त्रयहितैषिणी ॥ ३५ ॥

पुनश्च गौरीदेहात्सा समुद्भूता यथाभवत् ।

वधाय दुष्टदैत्यानां तथा शुम्भनिशुम्भयोः ॥ ३६ ॥

गौरीनाम्नोपलक्षितो देहो यस्याः सा तथा । अथवा देहा देहवती । छान्दसो वर्णलोपः ।

रक्षणाय च लोकानां देवानामुपकारिणी ।

तच्छृणुष्व मयाख्यातं यथावत्कथयामि ते ॥ ३७ ॥

मयाख्यातं कथितम् । शृणुष्व, अहं ते तुभ्यं कथयामीति संबन्धः । समुपलक्षीकृत्येदं वचनमृषेः ।

इति श्रीमार्कण्डेयपुराणे शक्रादिकृतदेव्याः स्तुतिर्नाम चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ॥ ४ ॥

इत्याचार्यनीलाम्बरविरचितायां सप्तशतीटीकायां शक्रादिस्तुतिः समाप्ता ॥ ४ ॥

॥ पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ॥

ऋषिरुवाच ---

पुरा शुम्भनिशुम्भाभ्यामसुराभ्यां शचीपतेः ।

त्रैलोक्यं यज्ञभागाश्च हता मदवलाश्रयात् ॥ १ ॥

यज्ञभागा^१ हि(हृ)तास्त्रैलोक्यं^२ च कृ(हृ)तमिति त्रिपरिमनीयम् । मदो गर्वः
सीधादिजनितो विकारो वा । तयोराश्रयात्(त्त)दालम्बनात् ।

तावेव सूर्यतां तद्वदधिकारं तथैन्दवम् ।

कौबेरमथ याम्यं च चक्राते वरुणस्य च ॥ २ ॥

सूर्यतां सूर्यस्य कर्म, अहरादिविभागकारित्वम् । इन्दोरिदमैन्दवम् । इदमर्थेऽण् ।
अधिकारं 'नक्षत्रयोगादिकम् । कौबेरं धनाधिपत्यादिलक्षणम् । 'याम्यं दण्ड'धारणादि ।
वरुणस्य पाशनियमजलाधिपत्यादि ।

तावेव पवनार्द्धं च चक्रतुर्वह्निकर्म च ।

ततो देवा विनिर्धृता भ्रष्टराज्याः पराजिताः ॥ ३ ॥

'पवनार्द्धं पवने(नै)श्वर्यादि । वह्नि'कर्म यज्ञेषु भागग्रहणादि । विनिर्धृताः
संपात्यातीताः । भ्रष्टराज्या वित्तपालनदुष्टनिग्रहादिकर्महीनाः । पराजिता रणे भङ्गमापादिताः ।

हताधिकारास्त्रिदशस्ताभ्यां सर्वे निराकृताः ।

महासुराभ्यां तां देवीं संस्मरन्त्यपराजिताम् ॥ ४ ॥

हताधिकाराः^४ स्वनियोगाननुष्ठातार(रो) निराकृताः । स्वर्लोकादपसारिताः । तिस्रो दशा
उत्पत्तिस्थितिनाशलक्षणा येषां ते त्रिदशाः । देवानामिदं विशेषणम् । अतो न पौनरुक्त्यम् ।
तां देवीं महिषघ्नीं स्मरन्ति । अस्मार्भुः । छान्दसत्वादतीत एव वर्तमाना गम्यमानस्य
शब्दापेक्षया वा ।

तयास्माकं वरो दत्तो यथापत्सु स्मृताखिलाः ।

भवतां नाशयिष्यामि तत्क्षणात्परमापदः ॥ ५ ॥

इति कृत्वा मतिं देवा हिमवन्तं नगेश्वरम् ।

जग्मुस्तत्र ततो देवीं विष्णुमायां प्रतुष्टुवुः ॥ ६ ॥

१ B om. गा. २ B स्थ. ३ B नक्षत्रं. ४ B याम्य. ५ B धरणादि.
६ B पवनार्द्ध. ७ B कमइषु. ८ B राराः (ditto.)

देवा ऊचुः—

नमो देव्यै महादेव्यै शिवायै सततं नमः ।

नमः प्रकृत्यै भद्रायै नियताः प्रणताः स्म ताम् ॥ ७ ॥

रौद्रायै नमो नित्यायै गौर्यै धात्र्यै नमो नमः ।

ज्योत्स्नायै चेन्दुरूपिण्यै सुखायै सततं नमः ॥ ८ ॥

सुखायै सुखकर्त्र्यै । प्रणता नमो नमस्कुर्म इति संबन्धः । द्विरुच्चारणं भक्त्यति-
शयार्थम् ।

कल्याण्यै प्रणतावृद्ध्यै सिद्ध्यै कूर्म्यै नमो नमः ।

नैर्ऋत्यै भूभृतां लक्ष्म्यै शर्वाण्यै ते नमो नमः ॥ ९ ॥

नैर्ऋत्यै निर्ऋतिलोकपालाधिष्ठात्र्यै । शर्वाण्यै रुद्रभार्यायै ।

दुर्गायै दुर्गपारायै सारायै सर्वकारिण्यै ।

ख्यातयै तथैव कृष्णायै धूम्रायै सततं नमः ॥ १० ॥

दुर्गायै दुर्गनामासुरनाशिन्यै । दुर्गा(र्गं) दुर्गा(र)धिगमस्थानम् । तत्पारकर्त्र्यै दुर्ग-
पारायै । स्थितिरूपायै । कृष्णधूम्रौ वर्णविशेषौ । तद्योगिन्यै ।

अतिसौम्यातिरौद्रायै नतास्तस्यै नमो नमः ।

नमो जगत्प्रतिष्ठायै देव्यै कृत्यै नमो नमः ॥ ११ ॥

भक्तविपक्षवर्गयोरतिसौम्यातिरौद्रे रूपे विद्येते यस्याः सा तथा । कृत्यै प्रयत्नरूपायै ।

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु विष्णुमायेति शब्दिता ।

नमस्तस्यै नमस्तस्यै नमस्तस्यै नमो नमः ॥ १२ ॥

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु चेतनेत्यभिधीयते ।

नमस्तस्यै० — — नमो नमः ॥ १३ ॥

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु बुद्धिरूपेण संस्थिता ।

नमस्तस्यै० — — नमो नमः ॥ १४ ॥

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु निद्रारूपेण संस्थिता ।

नमस्तस्यै० — — नमो नमः ॥ १५ ॥

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु क्षुधारूपेण संस्थिता ।

नमस्तस्यै० — — नमो नमः ॥ १६ ॥

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु च्छायारूपेण संस्थिता ।

नमस्तस्यै० — — नमो नमः ॥ १७ ॥

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु शक्तिरूपेण संस्थिता ।
नमस्तस्यै नमस्तस्यै नमस्तस्यै नमो नमः ॥ १८ ॥

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु तृष्णारूपेण संस्थिता ।
नमस्तस्यै० — — नमो नमः ॥ १९ ॥

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु क्षान्तिरूपेण संस्थिता ।
नमस्तस्यै० — — नमो नमः ॥ २० ॥

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु जातिरूपेण संस्थिता ।
नमस्तस्यै० — — नमो नमः ॥ २१ ॥

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु लज्जारूपेण संस्थिता ।
नमस्तस्यै० — — नमो नमः ॥ २२ ॥

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु शान्तिरूपेण संस्थिता ।
नमस्तस्यै० — — नमो नमः ॥ २३ ॥

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु श्रद्धारूपेण संस्थिता ।
नमस्तस्यै० — — नमो नमः ॥ २४ ॥

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु कान्तिरूपेण संस्थिता ।
नमस्तस्यै० — — नमो नमः ॥ २५ ॥

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु लक्ष्मीरूपेण संस्थिता ।
नमस्तस्यै० — — नमो नमः ॥ २६ ॥

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु धृतिरूपेण संस्थिता ।
नमस्तस्यै० — — नमो नमः ॥ २७ ॥

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु स्मृतिरूपेण संस्थिता ।
नमस्तस्यै० — — नमो नमः ॥ २८ ॥

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु दयारूपेण संस्थिता ।
नमस्तस्यै० — — नमो नमः ॥ २९ ॥

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु तुष्टिरूपेण संस्थिता ।
नमस्तस्यै० — — नमो नमः ॥ ३० ॥

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु पुष्टिरूपेण संस्थिता ।

नमस्तस्त्यै० — — नमो नमः ॥ ३१ ॥

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु मातृरूपेण संस्थिता ।

नमस्तस्यै० — — नमो नमः ॥ ३२ ॥

या देवी सर्वभूतेषु भ्रान्तिरूपेण संस्थिता ।

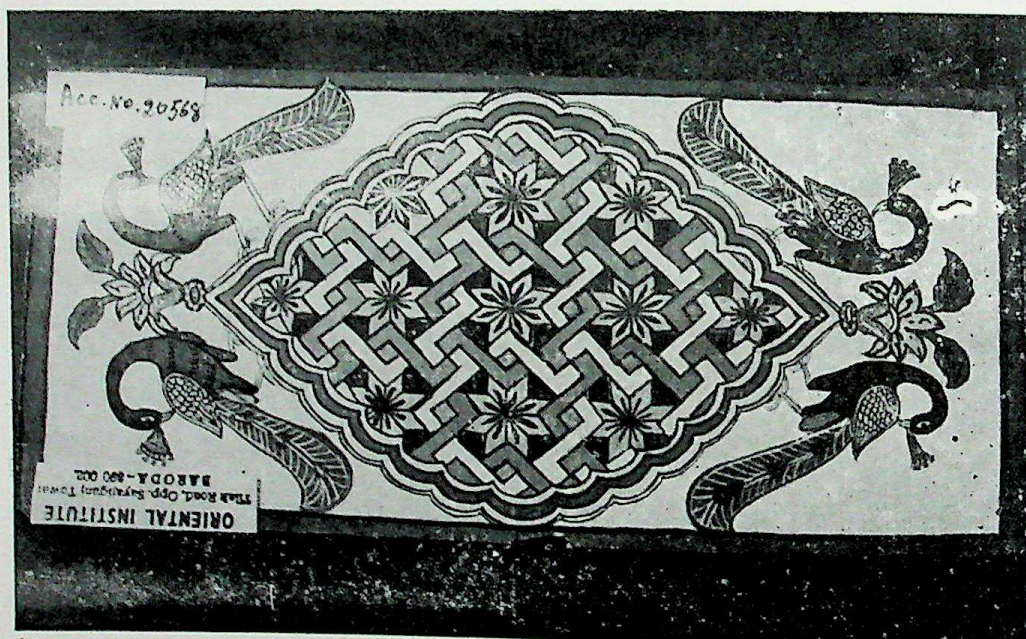
नमस्तस्यै० — — नमो नमः ॥ ३३ ॥

इन्द्रियाणामधिष्ठात्री भूतानामखिलेषु या ।

भूतेषु सततं तस्यै व्यङ्ग्यै देव्यै नमो नमः ॥ ३४ ॥

‘या देवी सर्वभूतेषु’ (दे.मा. ५.१२) इत्यारभ्य ‘इन्द्रियाणामधिष्ठात्री भूतानाम्’ (दे.मा. ५.३४) इत्ये(त्यन्ते)न चतुर्विंशति^{१०} तत्त्वानि नमस्कृत्य ‘चितिरूपेण या कृत्स्नम्’ (दे.मा. ५.३५) इत्यन्तेन आत्मानं (आत्मा) नमस्कृत्य [इति] गुरुसंप्र^{११}दायः । बहवश्चित्तमनोबुद्धिर्बर्मा क्षान्तिर्लज्जादय उपन्यस्तास्तथापि संख्यासामान्याच्चतुर्विंशतितत्त्वान्युपन्यस्तानीत्यवगन्तव्यम् । प्रयुज्यतो(ते) वैवं बहुशः श्रुतौ संख्यासामान्यादन्यत्रादिपदजातिमप्यस्मिन्नभिधेयो यथा—वाय्वग्निसूर्यचन्द्रादयः प्रका(क्र)म्य पुनश्च वायुं प्रका(क्र)म्य चक्षुःश्रोत्रमनांस्युपन्यस्य ‘देवा ये ते पञ्चाभिह(हि)ताः’ इति । अथवा यश्चाश्रुतमेव व्याख्येयम् । तत्र विष्णोः परमात्मा(त्म)रूपस्य विकारासंभवे तेजद्वि(जोवि)वर्तप्रकाशनशक्तिर्माया, जगद्बीजं तस्यै नमः । त्रित्वं गुणत्रयमेदात्—‘राजसी प्रकृ(क्रि)या काले सात्त्विकी लोकसंस्थिता’ इत्यनुसारेण, तथा च इमां जगच्छक्तिं भगवानप्य- (प्यू)चे यत्—“दैवी ह्येषा गुणमयी मम माया दुरत्यया” (भ.गी. ७.१४) इति । ततश्च शैवसृष्ट्यादिशक्तिरेकेन प्रकृतिप्राणिषु विद्यत इति । अतः स्वशर्वभूतेष्विति । उक्तं च—“सर्वं जन्तुं सृजति पालयति हन्ति च इत्यनुभवसि त्वं सा च शैवशक्तिः ।” इत्थं मूलकारणं नमस्कृता(त्य) तद्वेदान्नमस्यति वि(चे)तनेत्यादि (दे.मा. ५.१३) बुद्धेनि(द्धी)न्द्रियप्राणाधिकतया कारकवृत्तिश्चेतनावृत्तिर्महत्त्वम् । ‘अभावप्रत्ययालम्बनावृत्तिर्निद्रा’ (यो.सू. १.१०) इति प्रागेवोक्तम् । अन्नाद्य(दि)व्यवहरणेक्षा(च्छा) क्षुद् वा । छाया प्रतिबिम्बम् । शक्तिः कार्यजननसामर्थ्यम् । तृष्णा पिपासा स्पृहा । अत्यन्तदोषमर्षणं क्षान्तिः । जातिर्जन्म । लज्जा हीः । स्वीकृत्य परविषये ज्ञानजं दुःखम् । विषयेभ्यो बाह्येन्द्रियनिवर्तनं शान्तिः । विदितेषु फल^{१२}विज्ञानं श्रद्धा । कान्तिः शोभा । लक्ष्मीः संपत् पद्मा वा । धृति-

१० B om. त. ११ B. om. दा. १२ B om. फलविज्ञा and reads
यासंप्रमो from the following com., repeating it in its proper place.



A front page of the MS. with design
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